

THE
NOVA SCOTIA
SCANDALS

Maclean's

ROUGH JUSTICE

AFTER OKA:
WILL THE
VIOLENCE
SPREAD?

A Mohawk
Warrior On
The Line At
Oka, Que.





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CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE AUGUST 6, 1996 VOL. 133 NO. 32

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COVER

ROUGH JUSTICE

After two weeks of tense stand-offs between Quebec provincial police and heavily armed Mohawk Warriors in two Montreal-area communities, the federal government stepped in to buy some of the disputed land at the heart of the crisis and promised to review the Mohawks' land claims. But the Indians and their partners only partially settled their demands, and they continued to discuss further responses behind their barricades. — 18

CANADA

SCANDAL AT LARGE

With charges of kickbacks swirling around Nova Scotia Premier John Buchanan's government, "Ireland John," as the only Conservative premier east of Manitoba is known, is in unaccustomed political trouble. The RCMP has begun investigating patronage allegations made by a former senior civil servant. — 14



WORLD

PLAYING IT SAFE

President George Bush nominated New Hampshire judge David Souter to replace retiring Justice William Brennan on the Supreme Court. But the choice of the enigmatic 50-year-old Souter, whose views on abortion and other social issues are unclear, left neither conservatives nor liberals elated. — 26



Rebuilding A Nation

It is a career—and dangerous—season in the life of the nation. It is a time for which one is prepared or has trained. Across the nation, there is a sense of great uncertainty and a feeling that enormous changes are looming, largely unforeseen, reflected and anticipated beyond anyone's reach or control.

The mood of Canadians became unexpectedly sour during the bustling weeks that ended with the collapse of the Metch Lake constitutional accord. Since then, the country has moved uneasily in a political vacuum. Meanwhile, in Ottawa, Que., the incredible spectacle of police facing angry Mohawks in a heavily armed standoff has created bewilderment and a sense of bewilderment. Associates abroad—in the United States, South Africa and Britain, there were signs of contempt for Canada's perceived inability to deal with native grievances. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, who emerged fairly on Friday from a period of self-imposed withdrawal, and his government seemed powerless, exhausted, uncertain of how to address the future after the constitutional failure.

It is tempting to dismiss the drift as a natural pause in the political cycle, a kind of summer doldrums. But it is not that. Independent of Ottawa, a new nation is slowly, fashionably gaining life. In Lloydminster, Sask., last week, the four western provinces met to begin defining Western Canada's position in a major new constitutional structure. One after another, Saskatchewan's Grant Devine, Manitoba's Gary Filmon, Alberta's Donald Getty and British Columbia's William Vander Zalm announced gravely that they are now taking the initiative to define the kind of country that would be acceptable to westerners. Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa will soon launch a provincial commission to draw up that province's conditions for reaching a part of Canada in a far looser, more tenuous arrangement than now exists.

Really, the entire no longer seems to be holding. The parts are defining the whole. Sadly, the whole no longer seems to care.

Kevin Doyle



Western premiers in Lloydminster last week: the entire no longer seems to be holding.

Photo: Canada Press



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LETTERS

A 'NATIONAL DISGRACE'

"The battle of Okla" (Cover, July 23) should have been entitled "Gold course wars" to emphasize what precipitated this national disgrace. Surely the Starnet de Québec has been watching too many cowboy movies. Get the police out of Okla and send the desperado in a civilized manner.

Wendy Cohen,
Toronto

Canada is still a land of unparalleled opportunities. Winning about aboriginal rights and playing a dangerous game of cowboys and Indians does not sit well with working Canadians who are paying an astronomical level of taxes and have to witness this waste of toil and time.

Martha C. Pick,
Richmond Hill, Ont.

CLEARING THE AIR

Is there any chance of finding Charles Gordon to run our country until it comes to its senses? His column ("It will not be easy, but I fear Meach," July 9) was a breath of fresh air.

Ernest Hall,
Burnaby, B.C.

MISPLACED MALICE

My long-held admiration and respect for Peter C. Newman disappeared following his diatribe against Newfoundland Premier Clyde Wells ("The man who poisoned Meach Lake," Business Watch, July 16). Newman sounds like a Tary scoutmaster, not even recognizing the role played by Elsie Harper in Meach Lake. Obviously, the forces around a scapegoat are, heaven forbid, they could not blame the native people—much better to load it all on a Liberal politician.

Am Newman,
Atkinsburg, Ala.

Peter C. Newman is preaching the Malvoxy doctrine and is so busy backing those who

A DELUGE

The writers responsible of emotions over Peter C. Newman's column "The man who poisoned Meach Lake" (Business Watch, July 16) is overwhelming never as the history of Meach Lake as a weekly news-gathering have so many letters been received on a single column. When after the column appeared, dozens of letters still arrive weekly.



Okla might 'lose money cowboy movies'

played games, bluffed, threatened and took this country to the bank. If blame for the failure of the accord must be charged, let us place it with those who devalued the accord as the first price.

Neven G. Rist,
Wet/Nov

PASSAGES

BANNED: By an injunction sought by Queen Elizabeth II at Britain's high court, the book *Courtier: The Story of the Queen's Secret Service* by Malcolm Barber, a former royal household servant, and Canadian Tim Sobey, both of Halifax, the book must be destroyed within 14 days. Barber's life, including in which the Queen trapped over a decade and ended up in prison. The Queen's lawyers argued that Barber had breached a confidentiality agreement. Barber was also accused of using the book elsewhere. The Halifax publisher, Free Press Publications, is appealing the ban. Excerpts in the French magazine *Pierre March* were also banned from sale in the United Kingdom.



WIBBLED: As two reporters at the CBC TV current affairs show the 10th minute, Toronto Globe and Mail reporters Victor Malachuk and Steven Cameron, and London Mailstar, a producer of documentaries for CBC's *The Journal*. The three replace Eric Mallory, who left to join CTV's *W5*, Sheila MacVicar, who is joining ABC's news team in London, and Bob McKeown, who moves to CBC news.

REBORN: South African Danik Reformed Church minister and anti-apartheid crusader Allan Rossak, 43, from all his church posts because of the disclosure of his extramarital affair with Rosa Roth, 38, a married TV producer. Rossak also announced that he will of 21 years he started divorce proceedings. The couple have four children. Rossak added that he

has just read Peter Newman's vicious attack on Clyde Wells. The failure of Meach makes little difference. Psychologically, Quebec has been separating from Canada for a long time. *Journalist René, Montreal*

Peter Newman hit the nail right on the head—although I wish it had been Wells. A man who went back on his word and his signature, and then flew to Calgary where he incited a mob to Pierre Trudeau at the Liberal convention, made an ashamed to be a Canadian.

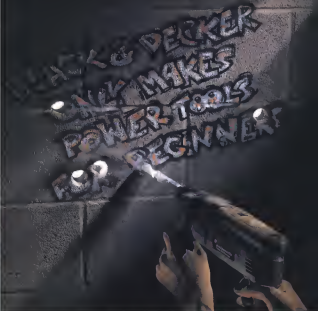
Wendy Dryden,
Calgary

EXPOSING CRUELTY

It was absurd for Meach to be so critical of a long for wearing a secondhand leather costume. "A bunch that is standing," Opening Notes, July 16). In an act of true devotion, long deliberately raised her career to expose the cruelty to animals in the meat industry.

Mary Buckholtz,
Kingston, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should send their letters to the editor, 1000 Lakeshore Blvd. West, Toronto, Ont. M6H 1A7. Please include a return address.



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OPENING NOTES

Barbara Bush tells Millie's tales, Margaret Atwood takes cover, and Jim Bakker scrims and saves

HIGH HOPES INDEED

Former television evangelist Jim Bakker, now serving a 45-year prison sentence at the Federal Medical Center in Redstone, Minn., is paying his dues in more ways than one. According to prison officials, Bakker has elected to use the money he earns working as an orderly in the prison hospital to pay off the \$300,000 fine that was also part of the sentence he received after his conviction last year on 34 charges of fraud and conspiracy. Said Buden Piane, a representative of the U.S. attorney's office in Charlotte, N.C., which prosecuted Bakker: "We appreciate the measure." And although 45 years seems to be ample time to work off most debts, Bakker earns only 11 cents an hour (for a total of \$4.12 a week). At that rate, it will take him 2,321 years to pay his fine. To date, Bakker has paid back \$25. Said John Chron, assistant to the warden for the medical facility: "He hasn't missed a day yet, and he'll be eligible for a release soon." Crime pays, but not very well.

Bakker: paying a debt to society and the U.S. attorney



A woman never too old for an ace

Lightning never strikes in the same place twice, according to the legend, but Marie Williams of Old Lyme, N.S., has experienced a pleasant exception. The golfer recently curled her second hole-in-one. Said Williams, who scored them both at the Times-Golf Club: "I really never thought I'd get another hole-in-one at my age." Williams was a youthful 75 when she struck her first—a 150-yard shot. Now, at 88, she has holed a 130-yard shot. Williams, who has been playing for 50 years, added that most people let up "because we want to go into a nursing home." But she believes it's no simple matter of making the body do what the brain tells it to. "Oh, Williams is making it," said a friend.

Williams: a case of the brain kicking the body



WEARING OUT A WELCOME

Mark Blanes has been playing around with Quebec's language laws. The owner of the Calgary-based Mark's World Warehouse chain owned each of the 16 Quebec outlets *La Québécoise*, a word that does not exist, but when it is pronounced in French, it sounds like "merchandise." The language police did not notice the mass Customers complained and Blanes is renaming the stores L'Equipement. Said spokeswoman Kathryn Cathcart: "There's been no dramatic change in sales, but people appreciate the change." The customer is right again.

Voyage of the overcrowded

As is not often around the frigate *HMCS Napigonk*. Sailed in Sydney, N.S., where the ship docked two weeks ago, say most of the 58 female members of the 350-member crew are unhappy with their cramped quarters. In 1989, the federal human rights commission ruled that by 1999 the Canadian armed forces must integrate women into all combat units except submarine duty. The *Napigonk* voyage is the first time that women have accompanied men on combat vessels. But a navy spokesman denied that there had been trouble at sea. Said Lt. Jeffrey Agnew: "These rumors are sexist." *Stirring on the Napigonk?*



Fulford, Atwood: engaging in a little good-natured literary feuding

WRITER IN THE LINE OF FIRE

It appears to be open season on Margaret Atwood. When Canadian cultural guru Robert Fulford took a critical look at the author in his 1988 memoir, Atwood's reaction to his not-always-flattering musings culminated in a short story that she wrote for the current issue of *Sunday Night*. In it, Fulford claims that he is cast in the role of petty journalist Perry Marrow, who, in his memoirs, berates a female colleague. In response, Fulford wrote a humorous article that appeared in *The Globe and Mail* on June

25 expressing surprise at his apparent ability to get under the author's skin. Meanwhile, the feud just registered itself through the literary community. Now, however, less scathing comments on Atwood and her work have surfaced. Writer Scott Symons wrote a biting piece about her in the latest issue of *The Week*, which led theatre critic Ray Carver to add some sharp comments of his own in *The Globe*. He says there is more to come. Meanwhile, Atwood understandably has left the country.

A CANINE VIEW OF WHITE HOUSE LIFE

In the dog-eat-dog world of U.S. politics, it appears that the presidential pooch will have the last bark. Millie, Barbara Bush's English springer spaniel, is publishing her memoirs, entitled *Millie's Book: As Told to me by Barbara Bush*. The first lady's press office insists that the book, which will include photographs of Millie and her pups playing with Bush and her grandchildren, "is really by Millie. All Mrs. Bush did was write it down," said a spokesman. Another spokesman, from publisher William Morrow and Co., said: "This is Millie's book. She wants to be talk about living in the White House from a dog's point of view." All of the profits are to go to the first lady's foundation for fighting illiteracy. Among people, presumably.

A house of horrors



Shadowing: probably not very well built

Shadowing, the Ottawa residence of the Shadow of the Opposition, is due for another renovation—its third in seven years—before Jean Chrétien takes up residence.

when he wins a seat in the House of Commons. Indeed, taxpayers have paid close to \$1 million in repair, renovation and maintenance costs since Brian Mulroney moved into the Rockcliffe mansion in 1983. However, Stephen, chairman of the Official Residences Council, says that the house "probably wasn't very well built." Despite the large amount of money already spent on the house, Stephen said that it still needs some glazing and wiring. But he said that, in just three or four years, he will be able to buy a new residence. George Drew was the first Opposition leader to live there, in the 1920s. Said Stephen: "Cost is important, but heritage is difficult to price." An expensive history lesson.

Freedom's song

Joyce Kilgus is using music as an effort to leave her own David, 58, released from a Manitoba prison where he is



Kilgus: musical plea

serving a life sentence for a murder that he says he did not commit. Federal Justice Minister Kim Campbell is considering a request for a new trial. Now, Kilgus has composed and recorded a musical plea for her son's freedom—and will send it to Campbell. Said Kilgus: "It's a song from the heart, from a mother's heart." A few bars for freedom.

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THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

ANOTHER VIEW



The dollar that would not plummet

BY CHARLES GORDON

It's a terrible thing, really, what's been happening to the dollar, with all the aspirations for exports, imports, the balance of payments, the rise in foreign ownership and so on.

But isn't it great?

Isn't it great that the dollar has soared, that it has reached its highest levels in 10 years? Isn't it great when the warnings of gloom and doom are not borne out? Isn't it great when the threats of politicians backfire?

Now, sure, we'll get new versions of the gloom-and-doom warning. The high dollar means it is cheaper for Canadians to import, cheaper for Canadian tourists to travel in the States, cheaper for Canada shoppers to make those lightning trips across the border. But that is not going to help our economy when they do so. The balance of payments will suffer, we'll have to borrow more abroad, foreign investment and foreign ownership will have to grow.

We'll be told by the doom-and-gloomers that it is not so great having a dollar that keeps making record after record.

But wait. Remember the tail end of the March 1982 disaster? Remember the dire warnings? Remember the Prime Minister telling the Newfoundland legislature that foreigners, the international community, would not be able to respect us if we let Meech Lake slip through our fingers?

Remember Brian Mulroney's solemn pronouncement to the international community—that our allies and trading partners would not be able to have confidence in us if we continued to demonstrate the kind of political instability the rejection of Meech apparently demonstrated?

Everybody knew what was going to happen. If we did not do what the government wanted us to do, foreigners would throw away their Canadian dollars like so much confetti at a parade. The value of the dollar would plummet.

Charles Gordon is a columnist with The Ottawa Citizen.

Remember the dire warnings about the dollar if Meech Lake failed? Isn't it great when the threats of politicians backfire?

international confidence would be lost. We would be a banana republic and without even the bananas.

And what did happen? Political instability, Canadian-style, did not seem to bother the Germans or Zurich or Geneva anywhere else, for that matter. People bought our dollar. The value of our dollar went up, almost as if the world believed in Canada. Considering Canadians are brave and not that is rather amusing.

When the dollar got up over 86 cents, a Royal Bank analyst expressed the financial community's surprise. "Nobody, but nobody, was forecasting, a couple of months ago, that the dollar would approach these levels," he said.

Terrible, isn't it, what's going to happen with the dollar up so high. But isn't it nice, for a change, to have something uncontrollable happen?

Economic theorists that most of us are, we have a difficult time accepting the fact that a dollar of high value isn't good for us. We grew up, many of us, in the days when the Canadian dollar was always worth more than the American one. Having a bigger dollar was part of being a Canadian. When John Diefenbaker devalued the dollar, back in the early 1950s,

there was shock and horror. Devaluing the dollar, Dief's critics said, was tantamount to devaluing the country.

Today's lagers say they were wrong. Nowadays, devaluing the dollar is only tantamount to devaluing the dollar. But the impulse to protest was genuine, springing from some basic, common-sense impulse: it is, the one that says it is better to have your money worth more than less. Even now, although we know that a lower dollar helps our exports and our tourist trade, it is somehow satisfying, in that same common-sense way, that the lower dollar tells us happens.

We know it is wrong to think that, but human nature is human nature. And besides, the government itself tells us. You have to know, that it is about time for the dollar to drop. Keeping the dollar from dropping is the excuse that is always given when the Bank of Canada puts interest rates up. Right now, it is working too well. Keeping the dollar from dropping is the language rationale for all those budget cutbacks the federal government does; it is the excuse for cutting Via Rail, for suspending social programs, for cutting back regional development. The budget deficit hurts foreign confidence in us. When foreign confidence drops, so does the dollar. So take your medicine.

No wonder we think it is good when the dollar rises. It is that fatal conservative in us reacting. Mind you, there is the perverse cynic in us laughing too, for one who enjoys it when the experts fall on their faces. There is nothing wrong with laughing at the experts. It is a valuable life experience for them, being laughed at.

But we should not laugh them off. They are, even as we speak, devising new scenarios of doom, new reasons not to enjoy ourselves, no matter what the economic situation, new reasons to accept policies we can't stand.

There will always be new "psychological barriers," which, when the dollar goes through them, one way or another, will cause all hell to break loose. The experts will tell us what they are and what sophisticated treatment we will require to prevent a complete collapse.

While we wait for that, it is interesting to speculate on why our dollar—the good old dollar—has done so well when everybody and it wouldn't. Perhaps the Germans of Zurich and those greedy little money lenders in Canada are the Meech Lake accident go-down. Perhaps they fancy the idea of Canada sinking up. Maybe they want to lay a piece of Canada, cheap, post-collapse, and build a cottage out or something. They would need Canadian money to do that, which would explain some of the demand.

Or perhaps—the wildest view of all—they don't think the country is going to break up at all. Perhaps they think the country is strong and will survive and grow and prosper. That would be a pretty far-out thing to think. Up to now, only really serious Canadians have thought it. But who knows? Maybe those gamblers aren't so dumb after all.

If they are, we will have to do something really stupid now in order to lose their confidence, so that the dollar will plummet and some economic emergency can prevail.

SCANDAL AT LARGE

NOVA SCOTIA'S
PREMIER, "TEFLON
JOHN" BUCHANAN,
FACES MESSY
ACCUSATIONS
OVER PATRONAGE

His is the dean of Canada's premiers, a 59-year-old master of popular politics whose scandal-plagued stewardship of Nova Scotia has lasted 12 years. His account is a flawless former provincial deputy minister who says he believes that, in a past life, he may have been a 53th-century saint and has stated that he would like the premier's job. Since early June, the allegations by 49-year-old Michael Zaretski against Premier John Buchanan and his government have by rumour become and surrounded the voters of Canada's most populous Atlantic province. Among them: that Buchanan directed government contracts to friends and allies and may even have accepted kickbacks. And as the story begins a full-scale investigation into Zaretski's allegations, many observers predict that Buchanan's days are numbered. Sted Atchley, University political scientist, has Stewart "It's as trouble. I don't think Buchanan can win another election."

Indeed, even before Zaretski's scorching, two-hour June 13 appearance before a Nova Scotia legislative committee in which he outlined details of what he said was a widespread patronage network, Buchanan—the only Tory premier east of Manitoba—was already under attack. In the face of deepening problems in the economy and unpopular cuts in education funding, the government said, Nova Scotians had elected four times but clearly already had sick of it following *Standards* in Nova Scotia's steadily now ex-Conservatives 28, Liberals 21 and the New Democratic Party 20. But the most recent significant survey, a poll taken by Ipsos-Reid Research Ltd. in late May, showed the Liberals with 44 per cent of electoral support, the NDP with 36 per cent and the Conservatives with only 13 per cent.

And there have been other accusations. In the past five years, three Tories—five of them



Buchanan's charges of kickbacks and government jobs for the premier's friends

former Buchanan cabinet ministers—have been convicted of offences, while three others have come under investigation. But tell the Zaretski broadside, Buchanan, known as "Teflon John" for his ability to personally avoid the stain of scandal, did emerge unscathed. Now, observers say that the premier appears to be in grave danger of defeat at the next election, which must be called no later than 1993. Sted Stewart: "These are the first charges that have struck at his personality. This is a premier

who isn't sure of himself anymore."

Zaretski's allegations are both menacing and damaging, even in a province where patronage is well entrenched. In his June appearance before the public accounts committee, Zaretski, who as deputy minister of government services between 1984 and 1988 was in charge of awarding contracts, not only said that Buchanan is involved in his duties on a regular basis, but also said he believed that kickbacks may have been paid to the premier.

A key figure in the controversy was a Buchanan friend named Mark Cleary, Zaretski said that, in 1986, Cleary was given a job as president of Cansteele, a company that the government forced to rebuild the legislative building, even though Cleary "had no knowledge of the business." Zaretski also charged that Cleary personally accounted between five and 10 per cent of the value of contracts awarded Cansteele. More damaging still, Zaretski claimed that Cleary, who was supposed to stay down at head of Cansteele when the restoration project

of office space as a government-owned building. Zaretski also said that Buchanan had civil servants paid the premier's house and chauffeur his children, and had issued several contracts without tender.

Zaretski then continued his allegations in comments outside the legislative committee. For one thing, he accused a charge that appeared to be a gross exaggeration. Zaretski said that, in 1988, the premier ordered him to purchase 200 special stainless steel covers for disposable plastic toilet-seat covers from Buchanan's friend Robert Cravens for \$23,760. According to Zaretski, the disposable covers have never been used. Zaretski told Maclean's last week: "You can find patronage in government everywhere. But, in Nova Scotia, it's just become so obvious. The people deserve better."

In fact, Buchanan's government seems to have tried to discredit the former deputy minister. Appearing before the legislative committee in June, Health Minister David Meates said that, last year, the government sent the deputy minister to a psychiatric facility for evaluation—out of concern for his health. Meates also said that, during that evaluation, time at the Rosewood Centre in Guelph, Ont., Zaretski had left the institution without permission.

But Zaretski has documents to show that he was given a clean bill of health at the centre. In fact, he said that he agreed reluctantly to the examination only to settle questions about his mental health that arose while he was still in government service. Now, Meates's comments have added to the government's troubles, with the opposition charging that the health minister had breached provincial laws by releasing confidential medical information about Zaretski. A Halifax police investigation concluded in mid-July that Meates could not be charged, because testimony given before a legislative committee falls under parliamentary immunity. But, last week, police announced that they have reopened their investigation of Meates and will review comments that he made to reporters after leaving the committee hearing.

Zaretski believing that he was a saint in a past life

was under way, demanded \$20,000 to reimburse control of the firm—saying that the money was not for him alone. Zaretski testified that it was his "strong impression that the premier would see a piece of it."

But Zaretski did not stop at that. The former deputy minister also charged that Buchanan exerted influence in favour of developer friends, such as Ralph Medjick. According to Zaretski, Medjick called the premier to have him force Zaretski to give him a better deal on the real

estate. Zaretski also said that Buchanan had civil servants paid the premier's house and chauffeur his children, and had issued several contracts without tender.

For his part, Zaretski, an engineer who rose quickly in government to become a deputy minister in 1984 at the young age of 38, has been unemployed since last year. A Roman Catholic, he became interested in a mystic order called the Rosicrucians in 1988. One

National Notes

A NEW VOICE IN PARLIAMENT

Former federal environmental minister Lawrence Bushard said that he will seek independent Quebec seats having joined forces with the "Blue Quebec" in provincial Quebec sovereignty as Parliament. He said that the six former Conservative MPs and a lone Liberal defector will ask the Speaker for recognition to enable them to participate in Quebec Period and even research funds, but that the members do not plan to become a formal party or vote as one.

CONTOURIST OVER A SUMMER

Immigration Minister Barbara McDougall says that it is "unlikely" anything can be done about a controversial immigration appeal board decision to stop deportation orders against convicted gangster Robert Owen Goss, CMC, a Guyana native who has been a permanent resident in Canada since 1976, served 26 years in prison after a conviction of robbery in a violent 1981 Toronto killing. The immigration department still tried to deport Goss, 38, in 1985, but immigration appeal panels have twice stayed removal orders.

NO SUPPORT

The Quebec wing of the New Democratic Party announced that it will refuse to support Louise O'Neill, the national party's candidate in the Aug. 12 federal by-election in the Montreal riding of Laurier-South. Marie St-Onge, Michel Proulx, head of the Quebec wing, said that the provincial party will support brother-in-law Gilles Duceppe, the independent sovereigntist candidate endorsed by Lucien Bouchard.

A SENATE ELECTION

The S.C. legislature passed a bill that would force an election to choose a senator to fill a vacancy in the governor's six Senate seats with the next provincial election—which must be called no later than October 1991. In an unprecedented vote in Alberta last year, election chose the Reform Party's Stanley Waters. Prime Minister Brian Mulroney appointed him to the upper chamber in June, but his term will end that further Senate elections would not be welcome.

A PLAGUE OF MOSQUITOES

In the wake of flooding and wet temperatures, the Edmonton area lashed by worst infestation of mosquitoes in at least several years. Mosquitoes are plaguing 100-foot high clouds of the insects. Farmers burned bags of damp hay to keep the stinging horde away from livestock.



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CANADA

concept shared by some Conservatives in that personalities emerge through other lives in the past. And during his stay in the Bonaventure Centre, Zenski said, while in a "relaxed, at-tent state," he came to believe that he had been Thomas Aquinas, an Italian theologian and philosopher who died in 1274 and was later canonized. But Zenski has declared that his spiritual beliefs should not be used to undermine his credibility, saying that they "should make no difference whatsoever with what I am doing today in this life." And he told Maclean's that he would like to enter politics himself—even as a Conservative. Said Zenski: "It's not into politics, to be precise would be my goal."

News Scotia's emboldened reporter has clearly taken some comfort from the fact that the July 20 score announcement of the investigations did not name him personally. Speaking to reporters who asked him if he would level calls by political opponents to resign, Buchanan declared: "Why would I? I'm not even seated as the assistant." And making an appearance at a nomination meeting in late July in preparation for an Aug. 28 by-election in Cape Breton Centre, Buchanan was conducting business as usual as he stood at the time to shake hands with many of the 400 Tories who attended. "He was in good form," said party president Irene Stenhouse.

The true damage of the latest round of scandals will not be known until the provincial election. And with widespread speculation that Buchanan's steadfast support of the failed March Lake constitutional accord will be rewarded with an appointment in the Senate by Prime Minister Brian Mulroney, the power may escape the political turmoil at his province before then. But some Nova Scotians say that his long-standing animosity towards Liberal Leader Vincent MacLean may lead him to stay on as party leader and fight another election. Many analysts say that they would be a mistake. Andrew Heard, a political science professor at Dalhousie University, said that although MacLean has not been viewed as a strong leader, the latest round of scandals has forced him a make-or-buy platform. "He has capitulated on this effectively," Heard said. "Right now, the Liberals are very strong."

Meanwhile, Buchanan faces another telling vote barely the score investigation. But, regardless of the outcome, one thing is clear: rarely has a Nova Scotia government suffered so much internal failure, so Nova Scotia government since Confederation has been subject to a full-scale police investigation. And as the Nova Scotia legislature rose to end its session on June 22, the arena was crowded when Government Services Minister Terence Gosselin addressed his leaders, assembly Speaker Arthur Donohue—who will call the next session to order. Said the minister to the Speaker: "Don't call us. We'll call you." Government members were clearly hoping for some respite from their political problems. But the traditionally busy days of summer have brought little relief from the Times' session of scandal.

GLEN ALLEN in Halifax



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CANADA

Western union

Four premiers prepare a united front

The location of last week's summit of western premiers was undoubtedly symbolic: Saskatchewan Premier Grant Devine, who called the meeting to discuss the role of the West in Confederation following the collapse of the Meech Lake accord in June, played host to his western colleagues at the town of Lloydminster (population 30,000). Surrounded by rich agricultural lands and heavy oil fields, Lloydminster straddles the Alberta-Saskatchewan border — "a tip being in the middle of Western Canada," in Devine's words. And during a day of meetings on the oil pipeline of the town's Gary Colclough Heritage Cultural Centre, Devine and his fellow western premiers—Manitoba's Gary Filmon, Alberta's Donald Getty and British Columbia's William Vander Zalm—had the foundations for an agenda to gain more control over taxation, environmental regulation and natural resources from Ottawa. "Together, we have one-third of Canada's population," said Devine. "A new western partnership for prosperity is growing in the minds of our people. They look for leadership."

That was clearly a quality that the premiers sought to project last week. They have faced troubles on a number of fronts lately. The western economies are feeling the strain of low resource prices, high interest rates and a strong Canadian dollar that makes their exports less competitive. As well, opposition critics and newspaper columnists have accused the four premiers of exclusiveness in speaking for the West in Ottawa. Devine's government, for one, is at an all-time low in popularity, and his top appointee as leader Roy McManus charged that the Saskatchewan premier summoned his western counterparts is merely to boost his slipping political fortunes. But senior Saskatchewan officials dismissed that argument. Instead, they insisted that Devine and the other premiers were trying to ensure that there wasn't a shift in power at the West's expense in Ottawa, as appears poised to grant more autonomy to Quebec. Said one senior aide to Devine, "The premiers are united in the spirit with which Ottawa agreed to bilateral negotiations with Quebec after Meech Lake. They will build an regional devel-

opment. There is a stronger West emerging." Towards that end, the four premiers planned to present some of their proposals at the annual meeting of Canada's premiers in Winnipeg on Aug. 13 and 14. Among the ideas under discussion: that the West set up its own income tax collection system to replace Ottawa's Quebec is now the only province that collects its own personal income taxes. The option emerged from a report by the four western finance ministers criticizing the national tax system. One of the complaints was their claim that the western provinces lost \$2.2 billion



Vander Zalm (left), Filmon, Devine and Getty: a proposal to create a regional tax system

since 1989 as a result of cutbacks in federal transfer payments to the provinces. Alberta Treasurer Dick Johnston said that the West could eliminate the smaller dual payments by setting up a regional tax system. That also seemed to win a quick endorsement from Vander Zalm. "Maybe the provinces should take responsibility directly with enlarged tax powers to pay the way," said the premier. Added Johnston, "This would allow us to eliminate our own objectives with the tax system."

The First Ministers also accused the federal government of trying to shift responsibility for eliminating the deficit to the provinces. In the February budget, Finance Minister Michael

Wilson announced a \$946-million cut in some transfer payments to the provinces, a measure that is now the subject of a lawsuit brought by British Columbia, Alberta, and Ontario against Ottawa. Said Manitoba Finance Minister Clayton Matsumoto, "An Ottawa attempt to handle the deficit, in other words, that offload its spending onto the provinces."

For his part, Filmon, one of two premiers whose legislatures did not ratify Meech Lake, seemed anxious to put the constitutional debate behind him. The premier has spent much of the summer in his cottage near Guelph, Miss., and has said little about the accord's failure. "Meech Lake dominated the national agenda," Filmon told the premiers last week. "It is now time to air clear, practical goals." National unity did not seem to be a prime concern among other western government officials, either. "The West is saying that it is how that we put our act together, then went to Ottawa bilaterally," Saskatchewan Health Minister

George McLeod told Woodhouse's. "It may be divisive, but there may not be a choice."

Said, the premiers' bold attacks on Ottawa and its fiscal management may have several people led to some of the backwashers, who gave the leaders T-shirts and old-company aprons in gifts earlier in the day. A \$1.25-billion heavy-duty upgrading facility under construction on the city's outskirt promises to be Lloydminster's new engine of prosperity. The partners in the megaproject are Calgary-based Husky Oil, the Saskatchewan and Alberta governments—and the government of Canada.

JOHN BOWEN in Lloydminster



A Quebec policeman guards a barricade; Mohawk Warriors rest at their Oka roadblock; threat of bloodshed

COVER

ROUGH JUSTICE

The home standoff had continued throughout the week around Mohawks facing Quebec police at the barricade at Oka and Montreal's Mercer Bridge. Behind the Mohawk lines, rumors circulated that authorities were preparing for another attack on their positions. And as the pressure increased, Mohawk leaders warned that any raid would meet far more violence than the July 11 provincial police assault on the Oka barricade in which one officer died. Then, on Friday, federal Indian Affairs Minister Thomas Siddons intervened with a warning: Ottawa had concluded a deal with a French property developer to purchase a portion of the disputed land at Oka that the Mohawks claim as their own—and hoped to soon conclude another arrangement to purchase the rest of the land at issue. But their part, Mohawk leaders said that Siddons's offer was not enough to end the impasse, although some of them added that Ottawa's initiative could at least open the door to negotiations to resolve the crisis. Said Mass Meneau, a Mohawk spokesman at Oka: "It's a drop in the

OTTAWA BUYS SOME OF THE DISPUTED LAND, BUT THE MOHAWK STANDOFF AT OKA CONTINUES

bucket—but it looks like they're moving a bit."

Cost: Still, at week's end the barricade remained standing—a testament to the resolve of the Mohawks to achieve their goals in Oka. With hundreds of police still surrounding the area, the strain of the standoff and long-standing rivalries within the Indian community had created slight cracks in the natives' apparent solidarity. But Indians across Canada

mounted dozens of demonstrations and local blockades in support of the Mohawks, many rights organizations came to their support, and government officials were subjected to intense criticism for allowing the impasse to continue. And in spite of the strain caused by the two-week-long police blockade of their positions, the Mohawks behind the barriers vowed to stand firm (page 34). "We won't put our guns down," said one Mohawk fighter. "We have to go all the way. Natives from everywhere are watching and counting on us."

Indeed, the Mohawks also gave a confidence to a proposition late last week from Quebec Native Affairs Minister Jean Caouette, offering what he called "a proposal that is total." Caouette said that the provincial police would reduce their presence to eight officers at all Mohawk barricades if the Mohawks handed over their weapons. That operation would take place under the supervision of a special committee that would include Mohawk members. But Caouette would not accept Mohawk demands that those natives involved in defending the barricades be granted an amnesty from any prosecution. Mohawk leaders said that they,

without an amnesty, there could be an agreement.

The simmering dispute at Oka escalated on March 11, when heavily armed Mohawks cut off an access road to a cattle-farm municipal golf course on the west side of Oka. 30 km west of Montreal. Their barricade was aimed at stopping the town's plan to allow the expansion of the course onto 56 acres of land claimed by local Mohawks who live in and around Oka, a community known as Kanehsatà:ke. But municipal officials obtained a court injunction to have the barricade removed, and, at dawn on July 11, about 100 members of the Sûreté du Québec (SQ) tactical force used assault rifles, concussion grenades and tear gas in an attempt to break the barricade. But the Indians were well prepared; their ranks bolstered by volunteers of the militant Mohawk Warrior societies (see other stories page 32).

They drove first police back, and the two sides ended facing one another in a standoff. **Weapons:** During the frantic three-hour battle, SQ Cpl. Marcel Laroche, 31, was shot to death. Native leaders insisted that the officer had been hit by the SQ's own fire, but Quebec authorities announced that a coroner had found that the bullet was not a type used by police. Meanwhile, within hours of the 50 mile, a second group of Mohawks, from the Kahnawake reserve directly south of Montreal, blockaded the Mercer Bridge, the main access to Montreal for residents of several suburban communities on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, including Châteauguay. Pe-

ople responded by sending in 900 more officers toward the Mohawks at Oka, and a substantial force to block off roads into Kahnawake.

For residents of Oka, a town of 1,600 that is largely dependent on tourism, the prolonged police blockade has brought economic destruction (page 32). And for those behind the lines at both Oka and Kahnawake, the hardship was compounded as police refused to allow delivery of food and medical supplies. Even some shipments by the Canadian Red Cross were turned back. But, late last week, the Quebec government responded to widespread complaints that police were using food as a weapon. Caouette said that, while people passing the barricades would still be searched, "there will be no restrictions in terms of the delivery of food" or medical supplies. Answering native charges that the government had planned to starve the Indians into submission, Caouette added, "It has never been the policy of this government to do that."

Amnesty: But the police blockade had clearly left a different impression. Human rights activists accused Quebec authorities of violating the same laws against ill-treatment of prisoners that the barricade had been aimed at stopping. Daniel Jacoby: "How can we reach this point, is a society that is supposedly democratic?" Edward Broadbent, former leader of the New Democrats and now president of the Montreal-based Canadian Centre for Human Rights, said that he was "appalled and appalled" that police would strip supplies from

starving residents, who had been under siege for two weeks. He added that the situation would make it more awkward for Canada to raise human rights issues abroad. Said Broadbent: "These countries will be saying to me: 'What about their rights in Canada?'"

In fact, there were signs last week that the treatment of the Indians could prompt public relations examination to examine that Canada has criticized other human rights abuses in South Africa, for one, an official at the foreign affairs department said. Another possibility between Canada's and South Africa's "problems with their native peoples." Meanwhile, a Mohawk delegation made another attempt to attract international attention by taking the New York City-based United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations for an investigation of alleged human rights abuses at Oka.

Federal government officials also had to deal with intense domestic criticism over their failure to resolve the crisis. Indeed, prior to his Friday announcement of the land purchase, Siddons had been widely criticized for his continued assurance that the problem was a "misunderstanding." At the same time, a similar statement by Barry Seaton, Siddons's deputy minister, increased the pressure on Ottawa. Early in the week, Seaton and other senior members of the department held a media briefing on a not-for-attribution basis. But some of Seaton's remarks were so contradictory that news organizations attributed them to him by name—adding, heck led to an already awkward situation and further angering native groups across the country. Among his assertions: the Warriors entering the Oka barricades were part of a "nationalist organization" that had "hijacked" the land dispute at Oka and turned it into an "armed confrontation."

Reply: Native leaders reacted angrily, demanding that Siddons fire his first barbed-wire speech after a request that he attend the Assembly of First Nations from Montreal, accused Ottawa of agitating the situation. Declared Meneau: "I take the deputy minister's comments as an affront to all Canadian public opinion against the Indian people. It is in everybody's interest that we don't get involved in playing games as to whether or not a person has clean hands."

And in his first public comments since the dispute began, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney at the end of the week rejected widespread calls for a royal commission into alleged mistreatment. But he acknowledged that Ottawa must do more better treatment for aboriginals. Said Mulroney: "I believe our native people over decades and centuries have not been well treated by Canada and by Canadians."

For his part, Siddons initially at-



Lafontaine Indians block a B.C. railroad; national solidarity

'A DANGEROUS GROUP OF PEOPLE WITH TREMENDOUS FIREPOWER'

tempted to distance himself from his deputy's remarks. Said the minister: "No, I have no evidence to support that." He added, "Certainly, there have been many rumors. But I do not subscribe to rumors myself." Later, though, he changed his position substantially. Emerging from a cabinet meeting the next day, he said that, while he may not have chosen the exact words used by Sevan, "facts are facts."

Q&A: Meanwhile, other politicians and officials leveled similar accusations at the Warriors. Jacques Parizeau, leader of Quebec's opposition Parti Québécois, described the Indians as lacking the Mercator badge as "barbarians." Speaking to reporters, Parizeau said that the provincial police should have attacked the Mohawk barricades as soon as they were up. He urged Premier Robert Bourassa to try to negotiate a peaceful settlement, but added that if no solution could be found, the police should use whatever force necessary "in the fight against terrorism."

New York state's top police official expressed similar sentiments. State police have had several violent encounters with Mohawks on the U.S. portion of the Akwesasne reserve straddling the border near Cornwall, Ont., and are still occupying part of that reserve as the

sites of gun battles over gambling casinos in which two men died on May 1. Thomas Costantino, superintendent of the state police, told a state legislature committee hearing last week at Fort Cornwall, N.Y., that the Warriors are "a dangerous group of people with tremendous firepower."

He added that they should never be allowed to "gain control of major highways, bridges and access points" as he had in Quebec. Costantino later told Maclean's that, because the Warriors at the two Quebec flash-points were almost certainly "extremely well-armed," Canadian police faced a terrible dilemma: "Do you get members of your troops killed or do you launch a pre-emptive, military strike and kill a number of people?"

Even within the Mohawk community, the Warriors face criticism last week as a spokesman for traditional chiefs from Akwesasne, Barbara Barnes, called them "a gang of criminals." But Warriors leaders told Maclean's that

the criticism was unfounded. Francis Bouché, for one, spokesman for the Akwesasne Warriors, said he was particularly offended by Sevan's remarks: "Those are totally racist remarks based on gossip and rumors," he said. "The overall picture is that the government really messed up and they are trying to blame their misdeeds on someone." And Billy Two Rivers, a Mohawk spokesman from Kahnawake, said that labeling the Warriors as criminals, and promoting the impression that

the Mohawk community is divided, was police and government propaganda. "The Mohawks of Kahnawake and Kahnawake stand together shoulder to shoulder," he said. "We are all warriors, every man, woman and child."

Comment: That sense of solidarity seemed to extend far beyond the Mohawk Nation, as Indians across the country held sympathy demonstrations. In northern Manitoba, the Indians set up barricades on major highways that ran through Indian land, stopping

traffic to hand out information. On the Ottawa River's Victoria Island, in the shadow of the Parliament Buildings, about 100 Quebec Akwesasne Indians erected a tent community—then made an unsuccessful attempt to occupy department of Indian affairs offices in Hull.

Among many protests in British Columbia, members of the Lillooet Indian Nation Portage, 375 km northwest of Vancouver, blocked the ice Rail line in an attempt to force the provincial government to accept their own claim to land. That action ended on Friday when Premier William Vander Zant persuaded the natives to end their blockade.

Meanwhile, in spite of Ottawa's attempt to break the Oka crisis at weeks end, many reports indicated a refusal of the nature land-claims process in Ontario and in Quebec, a land-claims appeal at the University of Victoria. "The current land-claims settlement process at the slow and non-transparent, and to have a claim in your mind and six years and years ahead leads nowhere fast." For his part, Sefton offered the Kahnawake Mohawks a special review of their claims. But he also said that such a review should not be viewed as a precedent, because the Mohawks' case was unique—a development that clearly offered little comfort to other native groups in Canada. Clearly said that, for now, many activists may not want to volunteer as part of their claims. But, he warned, if governments do not find "better, faster ways to settle land claims and acknowledge aboriginal rights, then the tendency will be towards more direct action." And that, indeed, was a chilling prospect.



Sefton's 'misdirection'

SUMMER FACEOFFS

The Montreal area (right) and close-up of Oka



GRÉGOIRE TROVAILLO with JAY BARRAGE and ANN WALSHAMANN in Montreal and BRUCE WILKINSON in Oka

A RAVAGE TOWN

OKA'S GUNS CHOKE THE TOURIST TRADE

Most summer evenings, the 66-seat Restaurant Châteauneuf in the picturesque Quebec village of Oka is filled with customers from 60-kilometre north-northeast. Co-owners Michel and Louise Bessette serve up to 100 diners as they promote restaurant—and run up to as much as \$7,000 worth of business. But this summer the Châteauneuf has been closed since July 15 because a standoff between Mohawk Indians and Quebec provincial police has turned the formerly peaceful village into an armed camp. The martial atmosphere here almost destroyed the economic heartbeat of the community of 1,500 residents—tourists. And while the Bessettes said that their business would likely survive, other local shopkeepers were less optimistic. Said Francis Ouellette, owner of a gas bar and grocery store on Oka's main street: "I'm making one-third of what I should be making. There is no way I can manage much longer."

By now, the 29-year-old Indian who lives in Oka, and that during an evening walk six RCMP officers accompanied him and began asking him if he knew any of the Warriors behind the Mohawk barricades. Since then, he has not seen any of the Warriors. He said that he had seen some of the Warriors in the village of Oka, but he had not seen any of the Warriors in the village of Oka. He said that he had seen some of the Warriors in the village of Oka, but he had not seen any of the Warriors in the village of Oka.



A police roadblock at Oka: desperate business people, and native charges of police racism

or an hour, depending on how they feel." Until the dispute began, most Oka residents say, whites and Indians lived together harmoniously in the village and the surrounding farms for decades. Roy Bessette, a 53-year-old Mohawk who is married to a French-Canadian, said that intermarriages between whites and natives are common. As well, many Oka businesses employ natives. Four of the 14 employees of the Restaurant Châteauneuf, for one, are Mohawks. Indeed, many local white residents opposed the proposed gun course expansion. Jean-Pierre McElroy, a teacher who lives in Oka, said that last summer a local environmental organization collected about 1,500 signatures on a petition opposing the project. The organizers wanted to preserve the forest slated for development. Many of the natives living in the village said that they were not prepared to join the militant Mohawks manning the barricades, that they supported the actions of the Warriors. Said Bessette: "There's no other way of defending our lands. Governments and the courts have failed us completely."

Said, the crisis has had a devastating impact

on the service because the police would not allow them to transport tourists, who represent 85 per cent of the town's income. Deducted Lajoie: "This is a crisis here for us and I'm 500 per cent closed." As for the actions of the Mohawks, lawyer Eric Béliveau said a petition on the militant charging charges from the police for lost income as a result of the blockade. But because of signs of progress in talks with the government last week, he asked the court to delay its hearing.

Selavage: As the crisis entered its third week, most of the town's business leaders said that they had little interest in either an expanded gun course or ancestral native lands. Their primary concern was to salvage the tourist season that was quickly slipping away. Said Louise Bessette: "We've invested everything we have in this business. We have no other source of income whatsoever. We live on the summers." Having already lost a major portion of their yearly earnings, many Oka business people were contemplating a long lean winter.

DARCY JENKINS in Oka

AN ANCIENT WARRIOR CODE

THE MOHAWKS' MILITANT RULES

A young Mohawk (center), Mike Mitchell, spoke about his role as the youngest of the militant active rights movement on the *Akwesasne* reserve, which straddles the Canada-U.S. border near Cornwall, Ont. In 1976, protesting a decision by Ottawa to fast-track military aid to Canada by Indians, he helped to organize a blockade of the Seneca International Bridge, which crosses the St. Lawrence River between Ontario and New York state of *Akwesasne*. But now, Mitchell, serving as the elected chief of *Akwesasne's* Canadian-level council, is increasingly opposed to the new Mohawk endois, the members of the Warrior nation. Earlier this year, he helped to form a force to oppose gun-bombing establishments on the U.S. portion of the reserve, a move that led to a confrontational battle with the gun-bombing Warriors. The violent conflict, which erupted into gun battles that left two men dead on May 1, resulted in Canadian U.S. authorities ordering a police occupation of the reserve, an action that Mitchell decried as "unlawful."



Around Mohawks at an Oka roadblock: setting a moral high ground

around the reserve's opposition to Oka, Que., and Montreal's *Mercator* bridge, there were other expressions of alarm last week. Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Barry Seixen called the Warriors a "criminal organization," and Jacques Parizeau, leader of Quebec's opposition Parti Québécois, labelled them "terrorists." But the traditional chiefs of *Akwesasne* also con-

demned the Warriors' intervention at Oka and the *Mercator* bridge. The Mohawk Nation Council of Chiefs of *Akwesasne* issued a statement saying, "The existence of a paramilitary group calling itself the Warriors will only bring further violence and destroy our efforts of reconciliation."

The chiefs' council spokeswoman, Barbara Barons, said that she agreed with Seixen's statement. "We are standing up for what is right," added Allan Delacoste, 50, one of the war chiefs of the Warriors at the *Akwesasne* reserve at the southern end of the *Mercator* bridge. "People are realizing we are not what others claim we are. We don't go off terrorizing people, universities and governments. We are only defending what little we have left."

For *Akwesasne* Warrior Paul Delacoste, 30, and other Warriors, part of what they defend are the ancient Mohawk traditions and laws promulgated by the *Longhouses*. The *Longhouses* are the traditional part-origins, part-political decision-making institutions of Mohawk society that have continued to exist despite Ottawa's efforts to replace them with elected tribal councils. The main tradition is the Great Law of Peace, a code of conduct that brought peace to warring Indian tribes—the Mohawks among them—before the European settlement of North America. Under the Great Law, violence was not permitted—except in defense of *Longhouses*. That heritage underlies the modern Warrior society, which first began appearing in the early 1960s with the aim of fighting for Mohawk sovereignty and land claims. Estimates put their membership at as high as 130 at several reserves on both sides of the U.S.-Canada border. Observed Paul Delacoste, "We are not looking for our own lives—we are carrying it out."

Mitchell: The Warriors do not recognize the authority of the elected tribal councils, which they say have been imposed on the Mohawks by the 1976 Indian Act. But many of them credit the resurgence of their society to 73-year-old Kahnawake resident Louis Hall, a leading member of the senior's Warrior Society and *Longhouse*. Hall was one of the leading members in a 1972 protest in which Kahnawake Mohawks blocked 1,500 non-Indian residents living on the reserve. Following that, he led the grassroots for the Warrior society by writing war-

riors calling on Mohawks to "embury their weapons and lighting spirit" and reclaim lost territory. And that message has clearly influenced a generation of younger Mohawks. Said Don Martin, a leading member of the Warriors on the Kahnawake reserve: "Louis Hall is a big man."

At the same time, the results of Hall's militant brand of activism have added to its appeal. In 1974, he and a group of radical Mohawks took over an abandoned girls' camp at *Moss Lake*, an upstate New York. They established their armed occupation of the territory until 1977, when the state government agreed to leave the Mohawks in control of land in the vicinity of Pittsburgh, 100 mi south of

resist a plan to build a recycling plant for construction waste on the U.S. portion of the *Akwesasne* reserve, already one of the most polluted areas of New York state as a result of industrial waste from such companies as General Motors Ltd. The reserve's council had approved the project, which would handle up to 600 tons of waste a day on an area now environmentally sensitive wetlands.

Casualties: The project has since been shelved because the Warriors and three environmentalists filed protest in two vital fields of debris that showed that they contained high quantities of PCBs and other potentially dangerous substances. Said Ward Stone, New York state's official wildlife pathologist, "The

as because I could see corruption among it. Right behind cigarette smuggling, you get drugs and gas." Added Theresa Siquet, an employee of *Akwesasne's* Canadian land council: "They are using the fight for our rights and sovereignty in a game. A lot of them were never traditionalists."

Still, some Indians acknowledge that many Warriors may also be sincere in their adherence to traditional values. Baroni Turelli, former chief of the U.S. tribal council at *Akwesasne*, said that, in addition to other Mohawk traditions imposed by Hall, the Warriors' current membership includes many youths who believe in Mohawk sovereignty and the preservation of their culture. But Turelli charged that also present at the mix are the drugs of Mohawk society. (Overseas) Turelli said, "Some of the people on the front lines are our biggest drug dealers and alcoholics and worst family men. The last part is that we all have to work to rebuild our society."

Assault: For their part, the Warriors say that many of their critics are nothing more than puppets of Canadian and U.S. Indian affairs departments, whose primary aim is to maintain power over the reserves. Indeed, the graduation between the pro- and anti-gunsling forces in which two men died on the *Akwesasne* reserve last spring provided clear evidence that the Warriors are not the only Mohawks willing to adopt militant measures to achieve their ends. *Starworks* Mike Bender, a new member of the *Akwesasne* Warriors, told *Starworks* that he joined the society after witnessing an assault last year by anti-gunsling activists on a group of their rivals. Said Bender: "I kept hearing the Warriors were real violent. I found out different."



Mitchell, Warriors walking around with guns, declaring war on whoever gets in their way

Mitchell. That territory, named *Ganeshk* by the Mohawks, has now become a Warrior stronghold.

Prods: As well, there appears to be little doubt that the Warriors are extremely well-armed. Last week, John Coleman, managing editor of a U.S. combat magazine, *Soldier* of *Fortune*, spent several days talking to Mohawk Warriors in *Kanawake* and *Kahnawake* and said they had plans to write a 5,000-word battle article for the November issue. Said Coleman, a veteran of six years in the U.S. army and 36 years in the army of the former white-racist Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe: "They've got simple firepower, enough to take on a police force and probably enough to give an army a good run for its money."

But the Warriors can point with pride to other actions in which they acted for the good of their community—without violence. In February, they joined with environmentalists to

Warrior stopped any further shipments from coming in. They were right."

At the same time, many Mohawks clearly consider the Warrior tradition dangerous and undesirable. A particular flash point has been the Warriors' support of the *Akwesasne* casino—illegal under New York state law—and a lucrative cigarette-smuggling trade on the *Akwesasne* and *Kahnawake* reserves. The Warriors defend these pursuits by saying that, under the principle of Mohawk sovereignty, white man's law does not apply on the Mohawk reserve.

But the opponents of the Warriors claim that the smuggling and casino operations are helping to destroy the Indian traditional way of life—and prevent their youths from seeing the Mohawks as real warriors to protect Mohawk traditions. Said *Akwesasne's* Mitchell, who also serves as a *haka* keeper—overseeing ceremonies—at the *Longhouse*: "I stopped

because I could see corruption among it. Right behind cigarette smuggling, you get drugs and gas." Added Theresa Siquet, an employee of *Akwesasne's* Canadian land council: "They are using the fight for our rights and sovereignty in a game. A lot of them were never traditionalists."

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DAN WERKE on Mohawk



Scotter and Bush: the nominee has a keen intellect and would 'interpret the Constitution and not legislate from the bench'

PLAYING IT SAFE

He is, from most reports, a paragon of caution. At 56, he lives alone in the state New Hampshire farmhouse where he grew up, a shy, cerebral bachelor who keeps a careful eye on his electricity bills. He has recently coasts on an upple and cottage cheese, which he brings to his table, and his pastimes are antebellum and historic reading, walking the state's elderly woman home from an Episcopal church on Sunday and taking solitary mountain hikes. But to White House officials, the very blandness of David Hackett Scotter's personal life was almost as attractive as the fact that, in 32 years as a state prosecutor and judge, he had left almost no "paper trail," as one of them called it—a scholarly article or speech that proved down his views on key legal and social issues. Indeed, last week that casually blank Scotter was named by President George Bush, who, faced with his first opportunity to leave his imprint on the nation's highest court,

BUSH NOMINATES A CONSERVATIVE, BUT ENIGMATIC, JUDGE FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE TO THE SUPREME COURT

seemed equally intent on avoiding controversy.

Decoding the pattern of the White House media room to find Scotter as a keen intellect who would "interpret the Constitution and not legislate from the bench," Bush seemed slightly out of breath. And with good reason. He had made the choice less than three hours after his first 45-minute meeting with the judge—and

less than three days after he had received word that the northern pillar of the court's declining liberal wing, 84-year-old Justice William Brennan, had resigned after he suffered a mild stroke.

Bush's haste in filling Brennan's seat on the nine-member court was clearly calculated as a pre-emptive strike against lobbyists pressing to turn the nomination into a bitter Senate confirmation battle over the explosive issue of abortion rights. And most political leaders paid tribute to his political acumen in avoiding what Senate Republican leader Robert Dole had warned could be a "blood bath" in an election year.

But as legal issues pond over 200 of Scotter's past decisions for clues as to how he would rule on abortion and other social issues, the judge remained an enigma whose nomination left neither conservatives nor liberals satisfied. Indeed, the appointment proved most revealing about Bush himself, who once again showed that he prefers to play the role of a

coordinator, not a visionary. While specialized conservative columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak "By picking Scotter, Bush's characteristic political move was to play it safe, foregoing rules—and rewards."

For conservatives, the biggest danger in not picking Scotter's epitome is that he could turn out to surprise them as much as the justice whose tooth-backed leather chair he will sit. A dissenting Roman Catholic moved to the court as an apparently safe moderate in 1986, Evans warned the man who appointed him, Republican President Dwight Eisenhower, by turning into a guest of Marxists. Eisenhower later claimed that, during his administration, he had made only two major blunders "and they're both sitting on the Supreme Court."

Eisenhower's other mistake was the appointment of Earl Warren, the liberal chief justice who went on to forge the 1960s' judicial revolution that remade both the Constitution and American society itself. But many legal scholars credit Brennan as the strategist behind the landmark decisions of the Warren court, which extended the guarantee of civil rights to minorities and banned prayer from public schools.



Brennan: a retiring standard-bearer of liberal views

Ever after Warren's retirement in 1969 and the gradual shifting of the court to the right, Brennan remained the standard-bearer of liberal views. Accustomed by fellow liberals as the conscience of the court, he became the face of conservative attacks that challenged his judicial activism and his unwavering opposition to capital punishment. But in the 1980s, after Ronald Reagan appointed four new conservatives to the bench—Chief Justice William

Rehnquist and justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Antonin Scalia and Anthony Kennedy—Brennan found himself leading an increasingly isolated liberal majority.

His closest ally, Thurgood Marshall, the court's first black justice, is ill and in poor health. And at 81, liberal Justice Harry Blackmun has undergone surgery for prostate cancer. Brennan himself bid survived cancer in 1974 and a stroke the following year, noting that he would not give up his lifetime appointment "until the Good Lord says otherwise." And by the sheer force of his personality and persuasive skills, Brennan had managed to choreograph an occasional 5-to-4 majority.

Brennan says that the court's new conservative drift is a natural swing of the pendulum, which could last for the next few decades. But in a television interview last week, the outgoing Marshall made clear just how disenchanted he was about the court's recent shift, especially on civil rights. Asked about Bush's civil rights record, he declared, "It's sad that if you can't see something good about a good person, don't say anything about it." When asked if Scotter's nomination led to an apparently inescapable duty,

he added, "I just don't understand what he's doing. I mean, this last appointment to... Marshall's thoughts on Scotter's nomination would in an apparently inescapable duty."

Despite the surprise of Brennan's retirement, Bush has been preparing for the decision that some political scholars call the most important of his 18-month presidency. Shortly after beginning his first term on Jan. 20, 1989, Bush had his top aides draw up a list of possible Supreme Court candidates. At the top of the short list, Texas Appellate Court Judge Edith Jones, a former law partner of Secretary of State James Baker, known for her law-and-order rulings. A close runner-up was Judge Laurence Silberman of the District of Columbia Court of Appeals, who, two weeks ago, overturned one of the 1989 convictions against James Earl Ray, Oliver North for his role in the Iran-contra affair and suspended three others.

Bush secretly flew both Jones and Scotter to Washington last week to get a sense of their political philosophy. He then threw the upper floors of the White House, while he retreated to his private office to make the final decision. One reason Scotter's name did not appear in media speculation over the appointment turned out to be the very factor that helped him decide in his favor. The Senate had only approved his appointment to the federal Appellate

A CARIBBEAN SHANDY

A radical Marxist faction armed with assault rifles stormed the parliament of the tiny two-island republic of Trinidad and Tobago, capturing Prime Minister Arthur Robinson and several cabinet members. The group, headed by a former policeman, Yusef Abu Baker, claimed that it had overthrown the elected government in the action of 1.3 million. But in sporadic gunfire on Saturday night through the capital, Port of Spain, loyalist forces surrounded rebel positions and in April that they were still in control. At least 22 people were killed in the action.

LIBERIAN LOSS

After a week of heavy bloodshed in Liberia, insurgent leader Charles Taylor, whose guerrillas have killed government troops for the past seven months, proclaimed the overthrow of deposed President Samuel Doe. But a rival rebel force, also opposed to Doe and headed by Prince Johnson, held key positions in the capital of Monrovia. Doe, who himself seized power in a bloody coup in 1980, returned to the presidential mansion at week's end, vowing to fight to the end.

A DEADLY ATTACK

The Irish Republican Army claimed responsibility for a bombing near Armagh, Northern Ireland, which killed three policemen and a 37-year-old Roman Catholic nun, Sister Catherine Duggan. Recently, the IRA has intensified its campaign against so-called soft targets, planting bombs at London's Earls Court, a Conservative bastion, and the sleek exchange.

VOTING FOR COMMUNISM

Communists appealed to retain their 66-year-old grip on power in Mongolia's first free elections in its 43rd-year parliament. Preliminary results in the two-stage vote showed Communist leadership opposition candidates by a margin of 8 to 3.

A REVOLUTIONARY REVERSAL

In a speech marking Cuba's July 26 Revolution Day, President Fidel Castro claimed the United States and Western Europe to issue entry visas to Cuba, saying that his Communist government would allow anyone who "left peacefully" to leave. He denied that it was too early to say whether Castro's suggestion would lead to the kind of mass exodus that occurred in 1960 when, during a brief relaxation of emigration controls, about 120,000 Cubans sailed to Florida in the so-called *Mariel boatlift*.

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SOUTH AFRICA

Pretoria sees red

Police allege a Communist takeover plot

It was a crisis that could derail South Africa's delicately poised peace process. The police—claiming to have evidence of a Communist plot to overthrow the government, mounted an arrest campaign that came to a head last week. More than 40 black nationalists, now in jail, are members of both the South

Albion Communist Party and the African National Congress (ANC) which Premier Jagan ordered shortly before releasing Nelson Mandela from prison last February. The ANC's chief negotiator was "hoping mad," in the words of one associate, about the arrests. Thus, government officials told President F. W. (Freddie) de Klerk showed Mandela evidence of the complicity at an emergency meeting last Thursday And, while deeming ANC involvement,

Mandel himself acknowledged that he may not have been aware of some of the activities of his more radical colleagues.

A police spokesman said that the nightclubs were Joe Slovo, General Secretary of the Congress Party and one of only two whites sitting on the ANC's 36-member national executive committee. Slovo's senior security official said the state president put it in no uncertain terms to Mandela that Joe Slovo was behind this plot. "He asked that the committee have a secret agenda to overthrow the white-minority government by force if it got a peace talks with Pretoria fail. The Johannesburg newspaper *Business Day* reported that the police had stated recently of a Communist plotting in Johannesburg. The police spokesman said he could not be blamed by any conspiracy agreement between the ANC and Pretoria. Slovo was not arrested although de Klerk asked Mandela to exclude Slovo from the ANC delegates at the next round of talks, scheduled for Aug. 6 on the subject of a new constitution for the new republic. The ANC said it had expelled any neo-Nazi members.

The highest-rising IWC member joined in last week's crackdown was Sathya Narayana Mahesh, a member of the executive commit-

tee Andrić, who accused Petrović of belonging to the "Red scare" forces if he had used justly his possession of anti-apartheid activists during the 1988-1990 countryside state of emergency, angrily criticized the arrest. He said that Mihajlo was jailed because he had been organizing a Communist rally scheduled for last Sunday in Srebreni. However, Ramiz Karčić, another prominent Communist, admitted last week before going into hiding that he and Mihajlo had been organizing an armed ac-



underground movement as "an insurance policy" against the failure of peace talks.

Although the group never made public its plans, leaks of the alleged plot to Portico took place in late April, forcing criticism of White Paper. The arrested, senior police and foreign ministry officials showed their readiness to the diplomats corps. After their release, they went out to help the government, voiced its allegations to the South African authorities, which appeared to strengthen Portico's case. The next day, the ANC requested the emergency meeting with Mandela, saying that "The ANC does not want to appear to be the master of the facts because in light of the police investigation

Mandela separately is quoted that he knows of no ANC plot to topple the government. But he said, pointedly, only for his own organization and not the Communist party, of which he is not a member. Mandela also noted that the ANC had still not resumed armed struggle in South Africa. And he concluded that the ANC leaders still considered that "a little difficulty" in controlling Spear of the Nation, its guerrilla army. But as last week's events illustrated, the ANC may have even greater difficulty winning the public relations battle if its Communist allies continue to pursue a separate agenda.

BIOLOGIE JEDOSIEDŁA z DR. CYNTHIA JERASINSKI na
Czas: 30 min.

Mandel's Topping rule



Mubarak (left) with Mawardi attempting to defend positions in the Persian Gulf

THE MIDDLE EAST

A Gulf showdown

OPEC ministers bow to Iraqi threats

The 11 member nations of the world's most powerful oil cartel, the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), traditionally dispute production quotas and prices. But, for 30 years, they have acted in concert to raise the oil embargo against Israel and its allies in the conflict over the Persian Gulf, their oil members conducting business as usual. But Iraq's Premier Saddam Hussein changed the rules last week, dispatching 36,000 troops to his country's badly damaged border with Kuwait. Although Iraq's weaker neighbor, many of industry analysts described the action as extortion. And it achieved Hussein's objective: Kuwait and other Gulf states agreed to curb production to raise prices—oil rose from \$10 to \$24 a barrel. Iraq's move, ENR's 1990-91 Year-End Special says, "has been a success."

The confrontation lasted less than three days. Iraq forces began withdrawing before OPEC reached agreement on the new price strategy last Friday. But Hussein's unprecedented use of military muscle to intimidate fellow cartel members caused concern in Washington, which ordered an air and sea exercise in the Gulf. That, in turn, led to a halt

mediation effort by Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who asked the Americans not to "escalate as issue between brotherly Arab states." He persuaded Iraq and Kuwait to begin talks on a number of unresolved disputes, largely economic, and by week's end Baghdad denied that it had sent troops to the Kuwaiti border at all.

Western analysts said that Iraq had clearly established itself as OPEC's policeman, assuming the dominant role previously enjoyed by Saudi Arabia. "As long as Saddam [Hussein] stays in power, Iraq will act as a bully," said Henry Kissinger, a London-based Middle East expert. "The Gulf states are petrified of Saddam."

Although the Iraqi pound has been increasingly devalued since the Gulf War ended in 1988, its effectiveness is limited by the country's wartime debts. Iraq owes an estimated \$90 billion—about \$60 billion of it to non-Arab states and \$30 billion to Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates (UAE). Said, a senior Arab banker, on condition of anonymity, “Iraq doesn’t intend to pay back [the Arab and] the Arab states don’t even expect to use the money again.” He added, “But if they write it off it will affect the international evaluation of all the countries involved.”

The creditors' persistent refusal to ease the debt led to an angry outburst from Iraq Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz. He scolded Iraq's Arab creditors that Iraq had "sacrificed rivers of blood" to protect them from Iranian expansionism and said that it was their "fraternal" duty to relieve Baghdad's credit crisis.

As in a rich League summit last May, Iraq's oil-depleted Kuwait and the OAE are producing at far above their OPEC quotas to weaken prices. Although Iraq's oil reserves are second only to Saudi Arabia's, Iraq sells more when prices are low because it does not have the production capacity of its neighbor and cannot increase its output. In the first six months of this year, Kuwait and the two other members traded quotas by as much as 1.5 million barrels a day, falling a glut that has precipitated to \$13.64/8 (8 is a barrel). The base price rose to \$16.25 but, on average, prices have rarely reached the 1986 benchmark of \$18.

Museveni stopped up his pressure on July 17, threatening military action against an opposition member that continued to succeed in pressuring him. He then accused Kwantu of stealing \$25 million worth of oil from the Rwandan oilfields, the site of a long-standing border dispute between the two countries. He said he would request negotiations to determine ownership of the field. On July 28, diplomats reported that two Iraqis removed dynamite had arrived at the Rwandan location. That same day, the Rwandan government-controlled media launched a violent personal attack on Kwantu's foreign minister, Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmed al-Sabah, brother of the emir, the country's ruler, who was then head of the American embassy in Kigali. "I am not sure if the man whose 'insanity' must be behind all the harm inflicted on Iraq."

Washington, which had provided entire escorts for Korean tankers during the Ge War, responded with what U.S. officials call a "short notice" exercise in the Gulf. The Pentagon sent two KC-135 aerial tankers and K-141 cargo plane to practice carrier refueling with the IAF's French-built Mirage fighters. Two U.S. warships cut short port calls at Bahrain, and all six vessels in the Joint Task Force Middle East—four frigates, a destroyer and a fleet oiler—went on alert status.

Baghdad denounced the measures as "retrograde" but they seemed to have a deterrent effect. On July 29, Hussein told U.S. Ambassador April Glaspie that he did not want to antagonize Washington and that he did not plan any military action. Then, Kerym's remarks announced that Iraq and Kuwait had agreed to resolve their differences in talks headed by Saudi Arabia. OPEC's decision to raise oil prices to \$22 (U.S.) a barrel short of two months for a \$25-a-barrel price, but conflict source seemed that Kuwait might make the shortfall in Baghdad's oil revenues. Longing about \$11 billion of the war-time debt it was clear that Iraq finally and firmly held its course back.

BOLEGER JENSEN with WILLIAM LOWTNE
on Washington and correspondents' reports

THE GERMANY

Slowing the juggernaut

Politicians quarrel over the terms of unity

The unification juggernaut, led by West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, has headed forward with startling speed. Scarcely eight months after a popular uprising in East Germany forced the opening of the Berlin Wall, Kohl engineered an economic union between the two Germans. Then, on July 26, he scored a diplomatic victory by securing Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev's approval for a united Germany's membership in NATO. But suddenly last week, the juggernaut appeared to falter over an unexpected issue. East German Prime Minister Lothar de Maizière's coalition government nearly collapsed over an acerbic dispute about whether unification should occur one day before, or one day after, all-German elections on Dec. 3. Rural parties settled that argument by week's end. But the episode underscored growing concerns among many East Germans who are criticizing the breakneck pace towards unity on West German terms. Said East German Defence

and Disarmament Minister Rainer Eppelmann: "In the past, we allowed a little more time between getting to know one another and jumping into bed."

The argument broke out when the 21 members of the Liberal party walked out of de Maizière's seven-party governing coalition, and the 88 members of the Social Democratic Party threatened to follow. That would likely have led to the collapse of the government. The two moderate liberal parties demanded unification before national elections, which would extend West German election rules to East Germany. That would work in their favor because the West German system of proportional representation requires parties to win at least five per cent of

the vote to claim a seat in parliament.

The Liberals and Social Democrats could draw support from voters who did not want to waste their ballots on several smaller leftist parties unlikely to reach the five-per-cent threshold. Under threat of a Social Democratic walkout, de Maizière finally agreed to treat both Germany as a single voting area. The dispute may yet re-emerge, however, because de Maizière said last week that he wants the West Germans to modify their rules to lower the threshold to four or even three per cent.

The political fight clearly inspired many East Germans, who accused their leaders of election-steering. "They have their own salaries," said Erika Peitz, 43, an engineer in East Berlin, "but we are the ones who will suffer over this summer election game!" The dispute also appeared to upset many West German. Christian Bush, deputy director of the AD-German Institute in West Berlin, said that it demonstrated the "political immaturity" of the East German parliament. And many West German politicians criticized de Maizière for embracing his country in what they called a needless race, instead of concentrating on pressing constraints to offset growing unemployment. There were also existing ten-



De Maizière's compromise

sions last week between East and West German politicians over unresolved issues, including the composition of the military and the terms of political union.

East German leaders said that they suspected the fact that they had not been included in Kohl's discussions with Gorbachev. To ally Soviet fears of a powerful united Germany, the chancellor promised Moscow to limit armed armed forces to 370,000 troops—just over half the size of the East and West German armies combined. East German Foreign Minister Markus Meckel accused Kohl of arrogance and insisted that East Germany's National People's Army continue to exist for a transitional period after unification. But a visibly angry Hans Tietmeyer, Kohl's senior foreign policy adviser, replied that Bonn was consulting East Berlin and that "if developments pass [Kohl's] by, that is not our fault."

These tensions are expected to grow in August when East and West German politicians negotiate the terms of union. They face a host of contentious legal and social issues, including abortion, which is available in East Germany versus its denial but is strictly



Berlin Wall: East Germans accuse their leaders of election-steering

limited in West Germany. Pina Gossensack, a women's affairs writer for East Berlin's daily *Berliner Zeitung*, said that West German abortion laws were "a form of persecution" and called on the two governments to protect East Germany's abortion rights.

Meanwhile, many East Germans were critical of politicians in both East and West for failing to protect their standard of living. Unemployment in East Germany once officially nonexistent, has reached 2.5 per cent, and many more workers are expected to lose their

jobs. Since the July 1 economic union that allowed West German funds to flood East German stores, nearly 4,500 stores in the East have been closing towards bankruptcy. "German economic union has not been a lightning bolt," said Rainer Henrichs, a farmer at the decrepit Gorkovskan cooperative farm near Leipzig. "We are turning into the poorhouse of East Germany." Added Janusz Griebner, Kohl: "The politicians forgot about us."

De Maizière has said he will demand that East German citizens, including employment opportunities, be protected under the terms of unification. But West German leaders have said that they plan to make few concessions in the August union talks. And some analysts said last week that the latest dispute to shake de Maizière's already-tenuous coalition may have further weakened the East's bargaining position. That may make it even more difficult for them to protect East Germans from the unification juggernaut that has left many of them in its dust.

MARY NEMETH with JOHN HOLLAND in Berlin

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NERVES OF STEEL

STELCO AND ITS UNION ATTEMPT TO AVERT A STRIKE THAT WOULD CRIPPLE A CRITICAL INDUSTRY

In a hotel on Toronto's airport strip last week, about 100 steel union and management officials bargained for 14 hours a day in a desperate attempt to avoid a national strike. At the table, representatives of the United Steelworkers of America, one of the country's most powerful unions, laid out their demands. On the other side, executives from Hamilton-based Stelco Inc., the nation's second-largest steel company, strongly held their ground. But as the two belligerent teams and their advisors struggled through the weekend under the shadow of an Aug. 1 strike deadline, union leaders said that the two sides were still far apart. Added Leo Gilford, the Stelco's vice president: "It's very, very difficult. I've never seen so much confusion. It's ridiculous."

After nine years of labor peace, Canada's associated steelmakers are prepared to use their ultimate weapon against management. With contracts for a total of 10,000 of Stelco's associated workers at Ontario, Quebec and Alberta scheduled to expire this week, union leaders are threatening to bring the company to its knees with its first national strike since 1980. Armed with an overwhelming strike mandate and a \$170-million strike fund, the Steelworkers are demanding a wage increase of about 17 per cent over two years and another four per cent to cover the potential inflationary impact of the proposed seven per cent. Federal Goods and Services Tax (GST), which is scheduled to come into effect on Jan. 1. As well, the union wants improved pension benefits and limits on outside contracting. Meanwhile, in St. John's, Maine, Ott., talks between management and union leaders representing 4,500 steelworkers at Ford-related Algoma Steel Corp. Ltd. broke off late last week. The two sides at Algoma were also facing an Aug. 1 strike deadline.



At both companies, deep cuts in the world forces by management since the 1982-1983 recession and lagging wages have caused union leaders to dig in their heels. As well, along with the outbreak of contract talks that began last week between the Canadian Auto Workers union (CAW) and the three major domestic car manufacturers, the steel settlements will set strong benchmarks for other unions this fall.

The Steelworkers' strike threats arise at a critical time for both the industry, which is in the midst of a sales slump, and the economy as a whole, which is heavily dependent on a healthy steel sector. Union leaders and steel executives alike complain that they are caught between high interest rates and a high Canadian dollar that has raised the price of their product abroad. Traditionally, exports account for about 30 per cent of total sales. In total, the steel industry employs 98,000 Canadians in a dozen communities across the country and had sales of \$6.2 billion last year. Steel is also a key component in Canada's manufacturing sector, with con-

sumers of total production going to the nation's largest industry—automobile manufacturing.

But Stelco, for one, has more than halved its workforce over the past decade. In 1979, 26,600 management and nonunion employees worked in its two huge waterfront mills on Lake Ontario, and employees worked in shifts around the clock, producing products for the nation's shipyards, automobiles and factories, as well as for export. Now, only 12,500 employees remain. But even though Stelco and its two largest competitors, over-seas-owned Dofasco Inc., Canada's largest steel producer in terms of tonnage, and Algoma, which Dofasco bought in 1988, have slashed costs and invested heavily in new equipment, steel executives still are concerned about the future. "A steel strike presents Frederick Teitner: "A cloud of uncertainty" over us."

Beside their efforts to modernize and cut costs, Canada's three major producers are being ground to their rivets, even in the domestic market. U.S. steelmakers have nearly dou-

bled their share of the Canadian market in the past four years, to 8.4 per cent last year from 4.8 per cent in 1985. Meanwhile, Canada's share of the U.S. market has fallen to 3.8 per cent from four per cent three years ago, and the slide is continuing.

With a widely expected recession darkening the economic horizon, some analysts predict that Canadian steel consumption will fall by about seven per cent this year and by the same amount next year. Falling car and truck sales are the main cause

of the 60,000 members of the car and the Big Three—General Motors of Canada Ltd., Ford Motor Co. of Canada Ltd. and Chrysler Canada Ltd. The union, led by Robert White, is also demanding special cost-of-living protection provisions for the car.

Stelco's workers have been in a anxious mood since the company announced in March that it was eliminating another 800 jobs, mostly through attrition. Union fury heightened two weeks ago when Stelco refused to bargain with all locals together, insisting on separate discus-



PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD

Dofasco's Hamilton plant; Teitner (right): 'a cloud of uncertainty'

in both Canada and the United States.

The sales decline is squeezing the steelmakers' profits. At Stelco, profits for the second quarter, which ended on June 30, plunged by 77 per cent to \$6.4 million on revenues of \$1.35 billion, compared with profits of \$37.8 million on revenues of \$755.6 million a year ago. Profits at Dofasco and Algoma are also falling. At Stelco, Teitner blames Canada's high-interest-rate policy. Says the 59-year-old president: "We're paying 9½ per cent interest to finance loans in Canada that in the United States."

But both Bank of Canada governor John Crow and Finance Minister Michael Wilson say that rates will stay high until satisfactory progress in the economy, including wage settlements, begins to materialize, although short-term interest charges have dropped slightly recently. As a result, they are watching the progress of the steel negotiations in talks begun between

sales withdrawal of the union's nine locals. Stelco has since abandoned that demand, but the Steelworkers' Gilford says that the plant-cut and what he calls foot-dragging on the union's demand for a contributed contract show that Stelco is not dealing in good faith. Added Gilford: "We're not going to be pushed around by men who want to make a name for himself as the steel industry."

But union union and management negotiations can head off strikes, foreign competitors stand to gain even more at their expense. Indeed, last week, one of Stelco's major customers, General Motors, announced that it had shifted \$50 million worth of orders for sheet metal to a U.S. company in anticipation of Canadian work stoppages. If that trend continues, the slow decline of Canada's steel industry may become a brutal collapse.

MICHAEL HARRISON

GORDON BUYS ANK BONDS

Gordon Investment Corp., a Toronto-based merchant bank, spent \$315 million to purchase 10.5 million worth of high-yield junk bonds held by one of the half-dozen of troubled U.S. airports and bus associations, the California Savings and Loan Association of Beverly Hills, Calif. The surprise purchase by Gordon Investment, whose principal owners include the structure Capital Corp. and Silverman-Bush King Securities Ltd., is putting, on half of the money, but analysts predict that the slumping junk-bond market may soon rebound.

MONITOR SELL-OFF

Crave-owned Alberta Government Telephones sold half of its interest in cellular-telephone manufacturer Novatel Communications Ltd. to West German companies and electronics firms Robert Bosch GmbH for \$100 million net—a 50 per cent premium at its earnings. An AIG spokesman said that the sale will help promote research and Novatel exports.

DOLLAR HITS 10-YEAR HIGH

The surging Canadian dollar hit a 10-year high of 92 cents (U.S.) before the Bank of Canada intervened to sell dollars on international currency markets, forcing it down to its weekend closing price of 88.51 cents. Meanwhile, the high dollar allowed the Bank of Canada to drop its credit-restricting rate slightly for the fifth week in a row, by 1½ basis points to 13.46 per cent, a move that privileged some financial institutions to lower their mortgage rates slightly and cooled speculation that a lower prime rate is soon likely.

JOB ASSURANCES

Federal Industry Minister Jean-Paul Bouchard says that Investment Canada will set aside one of the 40 Hamilton aircraft plant in Toronto, unless there are job guarantees for its 5,000 employees. Boeing of Canada Ltd., which bought the plant from Ottawa for \$90 million in 1986, has said that it is trying to sell the new Boeing 747 plant, which makes the Dash 8 commuter aircraft, to a French-Italian consortium.

SPONSORS' WITHDRAWAL FROM PGA

The Lincoln-Mercury division of the Ford Motor Co. and IBM are among sponsors who have withdrawn \$2.5 million worth of advertisements from ABC's coverage of the PGA Championship golf tournament, which will be played from Aug. 9 to 13 at a Birmingham, Ala., country club that has no black members.

Fading prospects

Canada's gold explorers are cutting back

For the past five months, stock market speculators and some of Canada's leading mining companies have been caught up in a lively takeover battle for the famously rich Eskay Creek gold mine in northern British Columbia. However, the now-resolved Eskay struggle is an exception as the otherwise moribund state of Canada's gold industry. Battered by low international prices, small gold-mining companies in particular have almost completely halted exploratory drilling in dozens of remote jurisdictions, throwing thousands of people out of work.

In Kirkland Lake, Ont., for one, Mayer Joseph Morneau says that drilling, which peaked almost \$400 million a year in 1987, now has almost completely stopped. To help sustain its economy, the town is depending on alternatives, which include a new federal administration centre for the proposed Goods and Services Tax and a new provincial young offenders' facility. As well, last week Morneau signed a \$400-million 20-year agreement with Metropolitan Toronto allowing it to dump and recycle solid waste in an abandoned mine pit near the town. Says Morneau, 66: "We're trying to diversify. But even with all those other things, gold is still the backbone of our economy."

Last year, total exploration spending by Canadian mining companies plunged to \$775 million from \$1.4 billion in 1988. This year, the 4,300-member Prospectors and Developers Association, which comprises 140 companies and 6,100 geologists and prospectors, predicts a further drop to \$610 million. The reason: a steady decline in gold prices. Indeed, the price of gold has dropped to last week's closing of \$429.20 from \$579.79 per ounce just three years ago. The gradual decline accelerated sharply in March when the price of gold slipped 240/100. Last April, it plunged thousands of ounces onto the market, driving the price down by \$24.95 in one day to \$427.46. According to Gold analysts say that drilling by the same number of companies is dropping sharply in May and June, when the price hit a 1990 low of \$396.55.

As well, executives with hundreds of small non-listed

junior Canadian gold-mining companies say that Finance Minister Michael Wilson's abrupt withdrawal of generous tax incentives for exploration and development in his February budget had a crippling effect. Those incentives allowed mining companies to pass on tax deductions for their exploration costs to investors. For the juniors, most of which have been battered by aggressive prospectors or financially illiquid Vancouver stock promoter Murray Penn, the so-called flow-through financing provisions qualify it easier for them to convince small investors to back high-risk ventures.

In Penn's case, the flow-through helped him to raise the money that his Prime Resources Group Inc. needed to explore Eskay Creek. Now, says Robert Goss, president of the Prospectors and Developers Association, "the juniors cannot raise any money by selling shares." As a result, Goss predicts that exploration spending by the juniors could decline to \$160 million next year, compared with over \$1 billion in 1988.

According to Goss and many analysts, that drop is particularly worrisome because the juniors have been the driving force in Canadian gold exploration. Unlike major gold-mining companies, which are more conservative and do most of their exploration around existing mines, Goss says that the juniors "just have the conviction to go farther."

The juniors tend to drill dozens of holes in unexplored areas and their money runs out. For small towns like Kirkland Lake, exploratory drilling is one of the most positive aspects of gold mining. Says Morneau: "They buy goods and services, rent cars and helicopters—it brings activity into the pocket, immediately."

As well, as a few cases, juniors have earned huge returns by selling out to major producers. Penn, 66, was a gold supporter of early drilling in the two-acre spectacular gold fields of the past decade—Eskay Creek and the discovery of the fabulous Hecla ore body in northwestern Ontario in the early 1980s. Indeed, "the Pen," as he is nicknamed, likes to show that he has "discovered more gold than any house being in the world." Last month, Penn and two of his associates called us on their

investment in Eskay Creek by selling their block of shares in Prime for \$66 million to Toronto-based Comex Corp., effectively giving it control of the mine.

The Pen's latest success has been soured, however, by a B.C. Securities Commission investigation into some of his Eskay Creek-related stock market dealings last summer. Personal registers allege that Penn, Penn president John Henry and senior vice-president Lawrence Page benefited from inside information by acquiring their stake in the mine before they publicly released a set of very positive drilling results last August. All three have denied the allegations. Last week, the Pen complained to Morneau's that the value of shares he and other juniors own in the hands of Vancouver Stock Exchange-listed companies he is affiliated with have declined by over \$300 million since the hearings began. He also expressed sympathy for other small exploration companies who are finding it impossible to attract investors. Says Penn: "They are struggling. They can't get the money."

But while he and other juniors are hurting badly, so far no large producing Canadian mines have been forced to close because of low gold prices, although they have curtailed exploration. To date, only a handful of smaller and older mines with higher production costs have shut down. The latest closures occurred last month, when Vancouver-based Canadian Resources Ltd. suspended production at two small mines, one near Whistler, Ont., and the other in the northwestern Yukon, lifting a total of 200 miners. Canadians said that the price of gold would have to rise to more than \$464 an ounce before it would reopen the mines. For

large gold mines, however, the average production cost in Canada is \$286.85 an ounce, leaving comfortable margins.

Moreover, because they can still afford to finance new drilling out of their own savings, the miners have not cut back significantly on their exploration budgets. Says Robert Smith, president of Toronto-based American Barrick Resources Inc., which operates six Canadian mines and the United States: "As far as the juniors are concerned, there will be little or no reduction."

In fact, Smith says that Barrick, which has grown steady by through acquisitions, says it has benefited from the "gold price" problems. Says Smith: "Short-term financial troubles in the juniors could make them acquisition targets. We're keeping an eye open."

But analysts say that any further decline could be painful. Egno Bhattacha, a senior mining analyst with the brokerage firm of Nasdaq-Thomson Deacon Inc. in Toronto, says that prices have declined to near the production costs of many older mines. "If we have a \$465 price for 32 weeks," he adds, "a lot of older mines would shut. Among those at risk, accord-

ing to Bhattacha, are Placer Dome Inc.'s Dome Mine in Timmins, Ont., as well as its venerable Campbell Red Lake Mine in Red Lake, Ont.

Because of price fluctuations in recent months, however, most analysts and gold-miners are reluctant to make any firm predictions. Says Stewart Murray, chief executive of

world market. According to Gold Fields' statistics, the average gold production cost of \$288.85 for large Canadian mines last year is close to the world average, and well below the \$350 average for South African mines. Already, several large South African mines have cut back their production because of the current price slump, adding thousands of mine workers. As well, Murray says that South Africa's costs will continue to rise because most of its mines are old, and black workers, who have traditionally earned far less than their white counterparts, are now seeking larger wage settlements.

Innovative with the companies in charge of the 50 drilling projects proposed for Eskay Creek, however, are unconcerned by international gold price fluctuations because the mine is so rich. Working under the Alaska purchase in rugged mountains northwest of Stewart, B.C., those companies plan to spend about \$200 million in the next three years. But in dozens of other gold-mining towns across Canada, the prospect of that kind of activity is a distant one. Says Kirkland Lake's Morneau, whose firm has owned and operated hotels in the town since the 1930s, says that "if the price continues to \$450 to \$460 a full ounce will break loose." Until then, however, the town where gold was first discovered in 1912 and which officially bills itself as being "on the edge of gold" will have to rely on an import sales tax, garbage collection and garbage to tide it over.

JOHN DAILY with NAL GUYNN in Vancouver and MICHAEL HARRISON in Toronto



PHOTO COURTESY OF NAL GUYNN

The elusive solution

Negotiators try again in critical farm trade talks

The headquarters of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) act on the office of the United States, as far removed from the duty-grubbing of agricultural negotiators. But despite the fact that the world's largest trading nations have a dramatic effect on farmers, and their governments, across the world—and failure to reach any agreement would have a devastating impact. Last week trade negotiators from the United States, the 12-nation European Community (EC) and 80 other countries met in a further round of their long-pending search for agreement on the contentious issue of agricultural subsidies by agreeing to a formula for future discussions in Aug. 27. Facing a December deadline for concluding the talks in the so-called Uruguay round, GATT trade policy officials are becoming increasingly anxious about the outcome. But GATT director Gen. Arthur Dunkel at the close of last week's meeting: "The pressure of time is even greater than that of the world's market."

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Baking bread in Toronto: bakers would give if agricultural subsidies were abolished.

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ed and that these several payments are equal to the export subsidies. It is countries are particularly concerned about American assistance programs. Those programs compensate American grain producers for world prices that fall below a so-called target price set by the government of the United States. Similar payments are also made to Canadian grain farmers. According to Michael Gifford, a senior Canadian agricultural GATT negotiator, both Canada and the U.S. have agreed to consider the EC request.

But, farm economists say that, if the subsidies are eliminated and world grain prices rise, Canadian consumers have little to fear from rising prices for processed foods such as bread and other commodities. The largest part of food costs are accumulated during processing, the price paid to farmers constitutes a small

part of the total price. Indeed, less than 20 cents of the cost of a loaf of bread is paid to farmers for wheat. Says Karl Melroe, professor of agricultural economics at Guelph University in Ontario: "A 36-cent rise in grain prices won't affect the price of Wheaties very much."

But, for Canadian farmers, time may be running out. In recent years, the federal government, which is trying to curtail its chronic budget deficit, has paid grain farmers between \$2 billion and \$3 billion annually an average of about \$7,000 per farmer, to compensate them for low world prices. Canada's share of world trade in agriculture is small, but among other Canadian exports, wheat makes 10th and 11th place. It is worth \$2.5 billion. As a result, processors have world prices for grain steadily lower and more farmers out of the land. For them, as well as for the hard-pressed GATT negotiators, a timely agreement on world trade has become more critical than ever.

PATRICIA CHIRGOLD with PETER LEWIS in Brazil



Collor preparing to pilot a jet trainer: unpopular 'economic shock treatment'

A daredevil's gamble

Brazil's risky anti-inflation war

Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello's mother says that her son takes too many risks. Since he took office five months ago, the handsome and athletic 40-year-old former governor of the northeastern state of Alagoas has spent most of his weekends piloting jets, long driving and engaging in other high-risk pursuits. In April, after Linda Collor de Mello begged her son to give up his dangerous pursuits, he promised that he would give up racing powerful motorcycles, but nothing else—certainly not his dramatic economic gambles. On March 16, a day after taking office, Collor introduced an "economic shock treatment" program to combat runaway inflation, which last year soared to a rate of 3,385 per cent. He placed on 18-month freeze an already 600-billion of all personal savings in Brazilian bank accounts—about \$140 billion—and restricted and reoriented the rest of the currency—the measure, Brazil's fourth currency in as many years. To cut spending, Collor says that he has laid off or suspended more than 200,000 employees from a bloated civil service, although some private economists estimate that the real number is only 90,000. Despite the pain and growing unrest, Collor is determined to forge ahead with his program. Said the president: "Brazilians are recovering their pride and confidence in the future."

At first, Collor's program enjoyed wide public support. Largely because the monthly inflation rate dropped sharply to 3.3 per cent in

April from 44 per cent in March. But now, that support is falling. As Brazilians are forced to make more of the painful sacrifices demanded by their first freely elected president since 1960. Recent opinion polls show that 43 per cent of Brazilians now oppose Collor's plan and claim that it has left them worse off than before. As well, prices are rising again. The monthly inflation rate was 9.6 per cent in June and economists say that the rate returned to double-digit levels in July. As well, Brazilians are finding more and more loopholes in the freeze regulations, and the country's powerful unions are mounting anti-inflation protests that affect them. Still, while Collor faces mounting domestic opposition, his country measures are winning him new respect among powerful international financiers. This week, Collor's program is likely to be endorsed by the first decision from the International Monetary Fund to visit the country since Brazil suspended interest payments last year on its \$128-billion foreign debt, of which \$5 billion is owed to Canadian banks.

In Brazil, however, the list of casualties from Collor's shock treatment is still growing. In addition to the laid-off civil servants, union leaders claimed more than 200,000 people lost jobs in the first two months of the program as businesses were unable to meet payroll or pay suppliers because of their frozen bank accounts. Moreover, despite its initial success, many economists now predict that Collor's

drastic measures will produce stagflation—high inflation coupled with high unemployment and low growth. Indeed, the government itself now forecasts that Brazil's GNP will shrink by 4.7 per cent this year.

Following almost 30 years of military rule, Collor says that his primary objective during his five-year term is to transform Brazil from a developing into a developed nation. Even though it is the world's 10th-largest economy with an annual GNP of \$479 billion, compared with Canada's \$649 billion, the vast majority of Brazil's 150 million people live in abject poverty.

Collor has assembled a team of aggressive pro-free-market economic advisers to help him revive the economy. Leading the team is the University of São Paulo-educated, 38-year-old economist named Carlos Cardoso de Mello—in relation to the president's name, he is simply known as Carlos—whose views are widely respected among Collor's powerful economic advisers last year. The stylish economist's only previous government experience came in 1988, when he helped advise then-Finance Minister Dilson Funaro on his failed intervention plan. Now, she is the only woman finance minister among major Western industrial nations. And although prices are creeping up again, Cardoso, whose determination has earned her the nickname "Iron Damsel," told *America* that she is confident that her government has pinpointed all monetary loopholes. Said Cardoso: "It's like the law of gravity—prices have to fall, we just don't know when."

One of the new regime's major priorities is privatization. Government-owned companies now account for more than half of Brazil's annual output, but Collor promises to sell two-thirds of the country's 1,500 state-owned companies by 1995. He started the process last month when he ordered the sale of the government-owned Companhia Siderurgica Nacional, which is South America's largest steel company.

Another Collor objective is to expand trade. In June, Collor met with Argentine President Carlos Menem in Buenos Aires and agreed to remove all barriers to trade between the two countries by 1995. Next month, Collor plans to send legislation to Brazil's congress to open up Brazilian markets to foreign investment. In addition, a move already timed to support U.S. President George Bush's call on June 27 for a free trade zone stretching from Alaska to Cape Horn.

But tackling the country's previously unrivaled civil service is perhaps Collor's most politically daring move to date. Even though he has made huge cuts in the government's payroll, he failed to achieve his goal of eliminating 300,000 of the country's 1.6 million civil servants in three months.

Still, enough opponents are appearing who plan to force Collor's hand to a referendum to prevail. Clearly, his appetite for risk, seven days a week, remains strong.

JAMES DAILY with RICHARD HOUSE in São Paulo



Haunted by history's lively ghosts

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

The war at Okla has as little to do with a golf course as Elgin Hager's elections had to do with Menlo Park.

The issue is dignity and pride, an intractable attempt to compensate for centuries of neglect by white Canadians who have treated Indians like the unwanted residents of a geographical accident they may have got here first, but they have never lived in our national priorities.

Indians are the lively ghosts of Canadian history. They're always there, like the vegetation on the weather, but up to now, no one has taken their complaints as a national anxiety. To be Indian in this country is to be depressed.

Canada's Indian tribes were not compared like the American Sioux or massaged like the Arctic Inuit. For their times were—and still are—born apart by white people who refuse to acknowledge their destructive and their rightful claims to parts of a continent that once was fully their own.

Having spent most of a decade researching and writing the history of the Hudson's Bay Co., which made fortunes for generations of British aristocrats by trading goods, furs and blankets for valuable furs, I've discovered many examples of injustice that took place in these early days. That's ancient history, and it may defy common sense that Canadians in 1999 could be that guilty and yet pay reparations when we had no hand in creating Indians out of their original land and possessions. But Indians operate on a different calendar; yesterday's faults are only aggravated by the passage of time. They view the present as a prologue for the future, not to act now might well cut off the Indians' fledgling hopes of justice ever being done.

One of the practical problems of restoring land disputes is that, with some exceptions, only the whites can document the precise history of each claim. Because they had no written language, Indians have had to rely mostly on oral myths and memories, their claims changing

When dealing with Indians, a people who have nothing left to lose, none of today's rules apply. A price will have to be paid

long and detailed reconstructions of events to justify some of their more contentious demands. That's a great irony because the early Indian cultures were much more highly evolved than those of the invading whites. Bands would stage four-day-long masquerade plays from century and family heads could recite prophecies by the hour without losing a syllable. Now, it will be for the courts to decide how legally valid memories can be.

A relevant example of how two cultures can accommodate one another was the fur trade itself. The Hudson's Bay Co. could claim credit with considerable justification that its presence was a positive influence on the frontier: that Canada was one of the few places on earth where the white man's commercial ambition had come to terms with an indigenous population without much bloodshed. Company traders took great pride in their apologetic motto: "We never short our customers."

The Indians, of course, were their customers and for that matter their free labor force, because they killed the animals, skinned them and brought the pelts into Hudson's Bay Co. posts to trade for goods that made their bush life easier. There are many instances of Company men keeping Indians and their land

alive during periods of misadventure and epidemics. But their motive was the simple realization that starving or sick Indians can't be out on the tundra, taking profit for the Company.

Still, it was a far more humane way to settle a country than in the United States, where the absence of any bureaucratic infrastructure like the Hudson's Bay placed the fur trade as the cruel hands of "the company men" and similar allegories. They killed the animals overnight and speared 60 Indian men "buying chickens to watch 'em spar'" was a popular American frontier pastime.

But even in the relatively peaceful landscape of early Canada, a cultural gap pervaded the fur trade. The Hudson's Bay Co. organized the animals—and the natives, for that matter—as merely a factor of production. To Indians, however, hunting was a spiritual experience. They saw themselves as part of an extended universe in which animals were treated as their relatives. They questioned with sacred "keepers of the game," who told them where to hunt and later sought the animals' own permission to kill them. When the Hudson's Bay Co. finally demanded that the Indians slaughter virtually every furry beast in the forest, they destroyed the spiritual balance of Indian life.

The worst abuse occurred in the early 1800s when liquor became the currency of the fur trade. The booze itself was a primitive mixture of raw, 112-proof gin, flavored with a few drops of molasses for a hint of strong cologne made it look more like rum. "T30 fu up some coffee warmth so strong, you'll be able to shoot an Inuit through the heart," said he won't die till he's sobered up," boasted one French whiskey merchant. The traders loaded this potent mix with water and Indians loaded the mix by spraying out a snailshell on a fire. If it flared up, it was okay; if it splattered out, they demanded a stranger knew. (That, incidentally, is where the term "firewater" came from.)

The damage caused by the introduction of alcohol to Indian life, then and now, cannot be undone. But preventing that the Indian problems will go away or placing collective blame like Tom Siskin in charge of Indian Affairs will only perpetuate the current crisis. Siskin already proved his incompetence in fisheries minister, but unlike Bob, Indians can talk back.)

Apart from the justice of their cause, dealing with the Indians at Okla—or the many other flash points across the country—will prove to be a new kind of experience for white negotiators. Where you are dealing with people who have nothing left to lose, none of the existing arbitration rules apply. While it's true that we can't undo historical crimes against Indians, we can't ignore their pain either. A price will have to be paid.

If the federal government was willing to compensate Japanese-Canadian war past injustices, that taken compensation package—which could reach \$200 million—was nothing compared with what we owe our 700,000 Indians. It's time we paid up.

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Helps in formation and maintenance of strong bones and teeth.

Thiamin (Vitamin B-1) 8%
Releases energy from carbohydrates. Assists in normal growth and appetite.

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Contributes to red blood cell formation. Helps maintain healthy nerve and gastrointestinal tissues.

Pantothenate 11%
Involved in the release of energy from carbohydrate as well as the breakdown and metabolism of fat.

Riboflavin (Vitamin B-2) 25%
Maintains healthy skin and eyes. Maintains a normal nervous system. Releases energy to body cells during metabolism.

Zinc 11%
Contributes to energy metabolism and tissue formation.

Calcium 29%
Helps in the formation and maintenance of strong bones and teeth. Promotes healthy nerve function and normal blood clotting.

Magnesium 14%
Assists in formation and maintenance of strong bones and teeth. Helps in energy metabolism and tissue formation.



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THE INSIDE STORY

TOURING



ONTARIO

By Glen L. GORTON

there. The bald eagles were nesting in white pines and you could even see the babies in their nests. For a nature artist like myself, it was very exciting. There are all kinds of nature walks in the area with many opportunities to see animals along the river's edge, in fact I even saw musk. I would sketch them and it's almost like you hardly had to look for them. Gorgeous warblers in abundance that migrate north from Central and South America would light on flowers everywhere. Sand Lake is just one of the many different lakes and rivers in the area. There are also a few cottages and lodges but you don't see power boats driving by all the time. Minsik is a gateway for "the beautiful country" and that's exactly what it is up there. The entire area is beautifully regged with that magnificent Canadian Shield terrain. The fishing in the area is excellent. We went on a wonderful fly-in fishing trip. It's really well worth it because you get up into that virgin country with beautiful waterfalls. It was led by nature guides who help you find the best fishing spots. We would lead the sorpline and travel by boat to little islands. I caught some walleyes that were very big and meaty. We would camp on a small island and cook the fish on the rocks. It's very hot as the water but very few bugs are up there. It was a great fishing experience. Minsik Lodge for me is a wonderful opportunity to work and still spend time with my wife and children. compiled by Louise Chisholm



Glen Gorton is one of Ontario's foremost wildlife artists. His painting, "The Bald Eagle" was presented to former President Ronald Reagan in the White House in 1980. A member of The Raptors Club, Mr. Gorton continues to do day and night research with the Bald Project sponsored by the National Geographic Society and the National Ontario Airphoto Administration.

GLEN GORTON'S INCREASING MINSIK LODGE and you can see it for your copy of THE INSIDE STORY and more information on traveling in Ontario will tell you 1-800-ONTARIO or on the Toronto area 905-405-1111 or T.D. 363-1160-6027

Incredible
ONTARIO

Ministry of Tourism & Recreation, Ken Black, Minister

"Minsik is a gateway for 'The Beautiful Country' and that's exactly what it is up there." For a second season I was asked to be the artist in residence at Minsik Lodge just outside the town of Minsik in Northwestern Ontario. That is also that such a beautiful, elegant place located in the wilderness even existed in Ontario? It's an enormous log construction, almost like a cathedral in appearance with a fireplace that is large enough to walk into. The view from the Lodge overlooking Sand Lake is absolutely spectacular and even during a rainstorm it's nice because there is very dramatic lightning that strangely, only happened at night. Because the weather was very warm then, people would actually sit on the porch at night and watch the weather change. Also at certain times of the year you can see the Northern Lights. One of the reasons I went up there was to study the bald eagles. They are protected in almost a wildlife sanctuary and there is a quiet patrol boat that takes you into the island bays and all the nooks and crannies where you can observe the birds. We also saw mergansers, golden eyes, osprey and blue herons that were nesting

PEOPLE

AN UNKNOWN QUANTITY

American actress Sekine Jeffrey says that people rarely recognize her, although her father, Indian actor Saeed Jeffrey, is famous for his roles in such films as *Bandit and Passage to India*. Both Jeffreys are now co-starring in Canadian director Seelav Kishore's movie *Minsik*, which is in production in Toronto. Sekine happened to say that she was the part without her father's realizing that she had outlived. Added Sekine, 23, who plays a 19-year-old Indo-Canadian girl trying to balance Western and Indian values: "People are always breaking on the door of my father's Winkwago asking for his autograph. But they just ask me, 'What do you do?'"

Jeffrey's not in great demand by autograph seekers



JEFFREY: A NEW ACTRESS

Charmed idol

Nature's far too wild. Myrtle Creek's Billy Mal says that he has cleaned up his act. Last February, Mal, 24, served a 90-day motorcycle accident that forced him to look out of his first film role in Oscar-winning director Oliver Stone's latest movie, about The Doors rock band. But the director later found Mal another part, which they shot in May. But the singer, "I think people will see that there is more to me than just a death trip." Meanwhile, he began a 40-city North American tour later this month to promote his recent album, aptly called *Charmed Life*.



Mal: reformed and recognized

NO MORE TUNING
IN NEXT WEEK

After 19 seasons on *Mike Ardun*, Canadian actor Bruce Garnett says that he's not in his show. The last episode of the 19 series *The Leechbenders*. "I feel a sense of responsibility," said Garnett. "A lot of people were brought up on the show. They come up to me and they're upset." Garnett, 65, said that he does not think that the show should end. He added: "Some people say it's old-fashioned, but it's something family programming. And God knows about the kids that come out of it now."

Ninety candles

When King Edward VIII abdicated in 1936 in order to marry the twice-divorced Wallis Simpson, his brother, George, with his wife, Elizabeth, now known as the Queen Mother, unexpectedly succeeded to the throne as King George VI. Said the Queen Mother at the time: "We must make the best of it." And indeed she has. On Aug. 4, the mother of Queen Elizabeth II will turn a spry 90. A spokeswoman, when asked if the popular Queen Mum has cut down on public appearances because of her age, replied, "Not at all." In fact, she has been attending many celebrations to honor her birthday where such famous friends as actor Sir John Gielgud and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher have paid tribute to her. Said Thatcher of the woman who is often referred to as "Britain's granny": "The warmth of her affection for the nation is mirrored in the affection of the nation for her. The Queen's resilience and her Commonwealth owe her a debt that can never be repaid."

The Queen Mother: long lives the Queen

OH SAY, CAN SHE SING?

Always a favorite with the tabloids, comedian Roseanne Barr has once again created a sensation. Last week, Barr sang *The Star-Spangled Banner* at a baseball game between the San Diego Padres and the Cincinnati Reds in San Diego. The star of ABC's *Roseanne*, struggling with a faulty sound system, put her fingers in her ears and walked the stands. The audience boomed loudly. Barr, 26, who in the past has exposed her rear to reporters, reacted by grabbing her crotch and spitting on the ground. Said Padres outfielder Tony Gwynn: "I thought it was disgraceful. When I heard she was going to sing the national anthem, I thought something like this would happen." But Barr was unrepentant. "I think I did great," she said, "and people wanted more."



QUEEN ELIZABETH II



Electrical transformers: McEvedy (below) led a five-year study at the works.

HEALTH

Tension in the air

Looking for chemical links with leukemia

EVER SINCE American and European cities began using electric lights to illuminate their streets in the late 19th century, electricity has served as a miracle cheap and clean way to deliver power to many homes and industries. But in the past, some scientists have expressed concern that the electromagnetic fields produced by the flow of electric currents in power lines or household appliances might be harmful to people. Studies carried out in the United States during the past two decades have produced some evidence linking exposure to electrical fields and high rates of lymph cancer and leukemia among electrical workers and among children living near high-voltage power lines. Now, a major study to be launched this fall in Canada, with federal support, will attempt to determine whether there is any real evidence that electromagnetic fields can in fact cause leukemia in children.

The five-year, \$800,000 study, which will involve 800 randomly selected Canadian children, is being sponsored by Health and Welfare Canada, the Canadian Electrical Association, which represents the nation's major electric-power utilities, and the Electric Power Research Institute in Palo Alto, Calif. Research-

ers at Vancouver, Victoria, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg and Montreal will monitor the exposure to electromagnetic fields among 400 children diagnosed with leukemia, a sometimes fatal form of cancer that attacks blood cells and affects about four in every 100,000 children under 14. A second group of 400 children who do not have leukemia will also take part in the study.

During the study, children at both groups will wear detectors that sense electromagnetic exposure every minute, during a 48-hour period. Mary McEvedy, an epidemiologist who studies potential causes and patterns of disease with the British Columbia Cancer Agency, and a chief investigator at the study, said that it is the first time that personal dosimeters have been used in the field. In the past, investigators relied on indirect measurements to determine links between electromag-

netic fields and cancer rates. The study, said McEvedy, "is unique because we'll actually measure an individual's exposure instead of guessing."

Researchers say that the study will provide answers to questions raised 13 years ago by Nancy Wertheimer of the University of Colorado Health Sciences Center in Denver, who studied a group of 488 children, half of whom had cancer, including 155 with leukemia, and estimated the strength of electromagnetic fields around their homes. Wertheimer, now retired, concluded that the children with cancer lived "mostly of 100" or higher near power lines, including secondary power lines that carried electricity to groups of houses. Still, the epidemiologist said that she had no proof that the presence of power lines raised high cancer rates.

The suspicion that electrical fields might be a cause of various diseases has led to protests over the location of electrical power lines in some communities. Calven Adams organized one such protest in Leitch Creek, N.B., 450 km northeast of Halifax, where the mother of three children ranging in age from seven months to six years, organized a group of residents who, in April, asked the Nova Scotia Power Corp. to change the proposed route of power lines that would have passed within 500 feet of homes in the community. "We shouldn't put people at risk when the jury is still out," said Adams. "We can't be lulled when our children have already been exposed." Over the past few years, similar concerns have led residents to organize in other communities, including Brimleywood, Ont., and Sherbrooke, Que. Said Margaret Murphy, a spokeswoman for the Nova Scotia environmental department, "We're hearing a lot of concern from people about power lines, but we don't see any policies or strategies we can really look to for guidance."

Although electrical power lines are visible targets, experts say that all electrically operated machines and appliances produce electromagnetic fields. Indeed, an ordinary kitchen stove or family television set can produce a stronger electromagnetic field than a power line, said Robert L. Leeper, a Colorado physicist who worked with Wertheimer on the 1979 study, and that the strength of the field drops off quickly from the source. "Less than 10 m from a typical household appliance, and on up to 30 or 50 or even 100 meters from large overhead power lines,"

While no known low exposure to electric fields might cause cancer, McEvedy said that in experiments, electrical fields have produced some cellular changes in laboratory animals.

For her part, Wertheimer says that studies so far have not found any adverse effects on people from short-term exposure to strong electromagnetic fields, such as those generated by household stoves. But she said that some links between prolonged exposure to electrical

fields seemed to be health problems. But, said David Chuang, of the Montreal-based Canadian Center for Occupational Health and Safety, "We're wrong, it's on the side of safety."

During the past decade, scientists have found some evidence that VDT emissions may be hazardous to pregnant women. A study carried out during the early 1980s at "Oakland, Calif." that involved 1,500 pregnant women found a higher rate of miscarriages among women who had worked with VDTs. Although scientists say that more research is needed, most experts recommended that pregnant women take precautions by staying at least an arm's length away from the terminal to prevent leakage from the emissions—or not use VDTs at all. At the same time, other researchers, including Michael Wiley, associate professor of

with Hydro Quebec and Health and Welfare Canada to sponsor a three-year, \$1.5-million study to determine the effects of electromagnetic fields on the development of brain cancer and leukemia in laboratory animals.

In the meantime, officials of provincial power utilities say they doubt that electrical fields are harmful to health. Said Larry Boudreau, representing M.R. Power, the New Brunswick utilities commission. "We'll continue to monitor the latest studies, even though there's nothing really there to suggest strong links."

Some scientists criticize the fact that the children, which would have the most to lose if power lines are found to be a health hazard, are a major source of funding and guidance for research in the field. Said David Puck, a Toronto environmental lawyer and author of *Radiation Alert*, a 1985 book that includes a chapter on the dangers of power lines. "The money they're not putting in to the box to guard the box is huge."

Still, Maria Strath, a research scientist with Health and Welfare Canada in Ottawa, says that utility companies, as well as their customers, are "basically interested in getting technologically sound answers." In Washington, last week, the House of Representatives began hearings on a committee bill, sponsored by New Jersey Democrat Frank Pallone, to set up a federal research program on electromagnetic fields. In Canada, the federally sponsored study may provide the first conclusive answers to the lingering issues that have been raised about electromagnetic fields.

DAVID BRADY



Hydro lines in Mississauga, Ont.: an obvious target that may actually pose few risks

fields and miscarriages among women were found in a 1989 study carried out in Oregon and Colorado. That study pointed to an association between miscarriages and the use of electric blankets, electrically heated water beds and some types of cradling cable electrical heating. Still, many scientists say that much more

year, the past, previously owned power corporation, Ontario Hydro, commissioned a study by Anthony Miller, who teaches preventive medicine at the University of Toronto. He will investigate the suspected links between childhood leukemia and electromagnetic exposure. At the same time, Ontario Hydro has joined

research program on electromagnetic fields. In Canada, the federally sponsored study may provide the first conclusive answers to the lingering issues that have been raised about electromagnetic fields.

ERRING ON THE SIDE OF SAFETY

In 1940 and 1941, reports of miscarriages and birth defects among women who worked in video display terminals from the Canadian Center for Occupational Health and Safety. "We're wrong, it's on the side of safety."

During the past decade, scientists have found some evidence that VDT emissions may be hazardous to pregnant women. A study carried out during the early 1980s at "Oakland, Calif." that involved 1,500 pregnant women found a higher rate of miscarriages among women who had worked with VDTs. Although scientists say that more research is needed, most experts recommended that pregnant women take precautions by staying at least an arm's length away from the terminal to prevent leakage from the emissions—or not use VDTs at all. At the same time, other researchers, including Michael Wiley, associate professor of

radiology at the University of Toronto, have found no evidence to link VDTs to adverse fetal development.

Some scientists say that suspected links between electromagnetic fields and cancer could apply to VDTs. In the face of growing concern, some manufacturers have started making VDTs that give off lower-frequency emissions. In the U.S., the American National Standards Institute (ANSI) will begin certifying its new Personal System/2-type computers, with new technology that reduces emissions. Bill Goldman, a San Francisco-based consultant who works with the company on responding to consumer demand. "We're concerned VDTs are safe," he said. "But in long-term studies are made, we have to act responsibly."

NORA UNDERWOOD



Against all odds

A new archbishop faces a divided church



Carey with wife Edith: the bookmakers' long shot felt 'dared and unworthy'

He was the bookmakers' long shot almost until the end. Until little more than an hour before his appointment as the 10th Archbishop of Canterbury was announced last week, London odds-makers listed the Right Rev. Dr. George Carey as a 30-to-1 outsider for the top position in the Church of England and the worldwide Anglican Communion. The son of a hospital orderly from London's East End, and a bishop for less than three years, the 54-year-old Carey had scarcely figured in speculation over who might succeed Robert Runcie as archbishop. And later, Carey himself confessed that he felt "dared and unworthy."

When he takes over from Runcie next spring, Carey will assume the spiritual leadership of 73 million Anglicans in 164 countries—including more than 100,000 in Canada. But, as Runcie itself, the new archbishop will become leader of a church that has suffered sharply declining attendance and is badly split among competing ideologies. The more traditional Anglicans, the 30-year terms of Runcie, a church liberal, was swept by a draft away from clear positions on key religious issues. They worried lest last week that Carey is associated with the Church of England's rapidly growing evangelical wing and takes a firmer stand on basic Christian teaching, including the scriptural

authority of the Bible. Said Right Rev. Richard Harries, the Bishop of Oxford: "Dr. Carey is traditional in his understanding of and presentation of the faith."

Other Anglicans and that the appointment may end the dominance of liberal dogmas.



Runcie: speaking in favor of the poor

who rose to prominence in the 1960s and 1970s. Said George Austin, the conservative Archbishop of York, "It could be that we have moved into a new era and left the Sixties behind."

Carey's more traditional views played a crucial role in his appointment. Because the

Church of England is the country's official state church, the Archbishop of Canterbury is appointed by the prime minister at the advice of a 16-member committee of Anglican clergy and lay people. Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher herself is a conservative Anglican, clashed with Runcie several times during the past decade. She reacted angrily when the archbishop spoke out in favor of the poor in ways that could be interpreted as criticism of her Conservative government. The prime minister also seemed annoyed that the church was spending too much time on social issues and not enough on promoting stronger morality.

As a result, many Anglican clergy said that Thatcher did not want to see another prominent liberal take up residence at Lambeth Palace. Under the rules governing the choice of a successor to Runcie, the appointments committee, whose chairman was named by Thatcher, sent two names to the prime minister: the choice was all of them—Carey's—and submitted it to Queen Elizabeth II for formal approval. The other candidate's name was not made public, but some insiders speculated that it was Dr. John Habgood, the third Archbishop of York.

Still, Carey's position on several divisive issues seemed certain to cause renewed controversy and possible clashes with Thatcher. He has spoken out against her controversial poll tax because it may unfairly penalize low-income people. Passed in July, 1988, the poll tax requires personal property taxes with a per capita community tax, which each person has to pay. As well, Carey supports environmental causes. And he has strongly favored the ordination of women as priests, to the dismay of both conservative evangelical Anglicans and members of the church's ultraconservative Anglo-Catholic wing.

Some other Anglican churches, including those in both Canada and the United States (where it is known as the Episcopal Church), have already welcomed women. In Canada, that decision led a small group of conservative clergy to leave the church in 1977. Last week's move was predicted that a similar split might occur in Britain. Warned Austin, the Archbishop of York, who, as a staunch Anglo-Catholic, strongly opposes making women priests: "If Dr. Carey pushes this issue too hard, there will be priests on my list of 'to leave'." Added David Samuel, director of the conservative Church Society: "We have been told the church is getting an evangelical, but Dr. Carey is a really getting another liberal! I don't think he will be able to rescue the Church of England from the crisis it is in."

Carey's background is somewhat the leader of a church traditionally associated with the genteel style of Britain's upper classes. Born in 1925, he was raised as a public housing project in east-end London, left school at 15 to work as an office boy and then spent two years as a radio operator with the Royal Air Force. Last week, he said that his family was not religious and that he did not attend church until he was 17 years old. Carey added: "I was introduced for many years. It was only the warmth of the local community that pulled me into the ap-

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Gold-winner Williams: 'If you'd asked, I'd have told you I had an outside shot.'

SPORTS

Scoring with gold

Canada captures a first at the Goodwill Games

Before Mikhail Gorbachev introduced glasnost to the world, U.S. media mogul R. Edward (Ted) Turner took steps to open up relations between the superpowers. After the United States boycott of the 1984 Moscow Olympic Games and the Soviet's antipathy boycott of the 1984 Los Angeles Games, Turner, the chairman of Atlanta-based Turner Broadcasting System Inc., which operates Cable News Network, organized the Goodwill Games. First held in 1986 in Moscow, the second Goodwill Games opened in Seattle on July 29 for a 17-day run. For Canadians, there was at least one dramatic moment. On July 32, Vancouver's Paul Williams captured the gold medal in the 5,000-m run, easily outdistancing Soviet's Adis Abebe of Ethiopia. Said Williams, "If you'd asked me before the race, I'd have told you I had an outside shot at a medal."

In Seattle, about 2,500 athletes from 52 nations competed for 186 medal events in 21 sports. Among the winners during the first four days of competition were American sprinter Leroy Brown, who edged out Olympic champion and Olympic gold medalist Carl Lewis by 0.03 seconds in the 100-m sprint to win a 10-GS second. Brown set the stage for a possible future battle with Lewis and Thornton's Ben Johnson, whose world record of 9.79 seconds at the 1988 U.S. Olympic Games in Seoul was disallowed after officials tested him and found that he was using steroids.

Johnson's two-year international suspension, which the International Amateur Athletic

Federation imposed, ends in September. But he will only be able to run for Canada again if Ottawa lifts the lifetime ban imposed by Sports Minister Jean Charest in 1988. Last week a Commons subcommittee on amateur sports recommended that athletes governing bodies should determine the eligibility of athletes.

Meanwhile, in Seattle, in the grueling 10-event decathlon, Toronto's Mike Smith, who captured a gold medal at the 1990 Commonwealth Games in Auckland, lost a disappointing fourth-place finish. After that, Canada's best chance for a second gold medal lay with Marc Breuer of Caroline, N.B., in the figure skating championship this week. And to make it to the hockey final, also this week, Canada will have had to survive the preliminary rounds against Germany, Czechoslovakia, Sweden and the Soviet Union to reach the medal round.

As the Soviet hockey players practiced in Portland, Ore., last week, star centre Sergei Fedorov watched—and then swooped in to

SEXES

The hands have it

A study provides a clue to the mystery of sexuality

Throughout history, there has been on-again-off-again speculation about the ways in which left-handed people differ from right-handers. During the Middle Ages, inflexible people were sometimes accused of being witches and burned at the stake. As late as the 19th century, a prominent Italian psychiatrist, Cesare Lombroso, claimed that left-handedness was a sign of mental degeneracy. In more recent times, scientists have said that left-handers were the result of a dominant right side of the brain. Now, three Canadian researchers have reported that left-handers could be linked to homosexuality.

In a study published in the February issue of the British journal *Psychosomatic Medicine*, scientists from McMaster University in Hamilton said they had observed a high incidence of left-handedness in 38 homosexual men and 32 homosexual women. Of the general population, 65 per cent of people are usually right-handed. But, in the study, only 38 per cent of the women and 50 per cent of the men studied were usually right-handed. Led by Dr. Sandra Watson, a behavioural neurologist at McMaster and one of the study's authors, "We're quite confident of our findings."

Because left-handedness is associated with a different brain organization, the researchers suggested that homosexuals have a different brain organization than heterosexuals. They also speculated that the higher incidence of left-handedness among homosexuals could be explained by atypical levels of sex hormones during early fetal development. Other researchers, however, have found that in a group of women who had developmental levels of masculinizing hormones, there was a higher incidence of left-handedness and homosexuality.

Watson noted that the factors determining sexual orientation have, so far, defied scientists. While some experts contend that a child's environment, family and peer-group experience play a role in determining sexual orientation, other scientists say that it is biologically determined. "Our study does not mean that environment is irrelevant," said Watson. "What this means is that biology is not irrelevant." Which added, the study may provide scientists with another piece of evidence in their attempts to solve the mysteries of human sexuality.

NORA UNDERWOOD with BOB FAHLETT
and ANGA ADAMTULI in Seattle

NORA UNDERWOOD



Fraser (right) with director Michael Horvitz: gripping coverage, tight budget

TELEVISION

A promising start

CBC's *Newsweek* has an eventful first year

With its origins of a belatedly rushed across Canada on Dec. 6, Canada's fledgling all-news service has a rocky start. After premiering Marc Lloppe's 24-hour engineering station at the University of Montreal and took his own life, an estimated 770,000 Canadians—about half the average nightly audience for CBC's flagship news show, *The National*—tuned in to *Newsweek* for the first several hours for updates. Afterwards, TV critics praised the two-hour, 10:00 p.m. CBC-owned channel for its swift and gripping treatment of the story. While many critics say that *Newsweek*, which celebrates its first anniversary on July 31, is a negative and flawed as often regards its comprehensive coverage has already made it comparable to the papers and followers of Canadian news. Said Christine Stuenkel, Liberal MP for the southern Ontario riding of Northumberland, for one: "It is a void void."

Last week, Jan Davidson, the Toronto-based head of *Newsweek*, looked back at the channel's hectic first year with evident pride. "We really have taken hold of Canadian stories as they unfold," she said. And the network has managed to do that on a shoestring annual operating budget of \$20 million, raised entirely from sales of advertising time and fees paid by cable TV subscribers. Paced with massive cutbacks, the CBC had to make *Newsweek* self-financing as a condition of obtaining a license

from the broadcast regulatory agency, the Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission (CRTC). As a result, the new network was unable to hire reporters of its own; it relies on material filed by CBC radio and CTV reporters. *Newsweek* and the CBC's other news programs appear to have suffered from a similar problem. The service has made significant progress in its first year, producing nearly 100 hours a week of original programming. *Newsweek* has now made its across Canada in more than 5 million households with cable.

The service's deputy head, Michael Horvitz, said that *Newsweek* is still in its infancy. "It's important at this stage not to pretend that we have got everything right," he noted. Recent evaluations of outstanding programming have led the decision not to renew the contract of Horvitz's former boss, Paul Griffin. The 30-year CBC veteran said that he was fired because *Newsweek* reporters and that he did not have the right "tone" for the program. Management declined to discuss the case. And last week, the Toronto Globe and Mail announced that, due to cost-cutting measures, it will no longer provide hourly daytime business bulletins to the all-news service. Horvitz said that other media organizations have expressed interest in providing business coverage to *Newsweek*, which is required by its license to rely on outside sources for 20 per cent of its programming.

Like other specialty services, *Newsweek* attracts subscribers that are tiny in comparison with those of the main networks. But broadcasting specialists say that relatively low ratings are normal for such programming. Still, communications consultant Gerald Caplan. "The truth is, none of it is very interesting to everybody. But you cannot find regional programming anywhere of the kind you get on *Newsweek*."

With a staff of 200 and an episode budget, *Newsweek* is a small operation, especially when compared with the 20-year-old, Atlanta-based Cable News Network, CNN is now an international operation with 1,700 employees and a budget of \$240 million in 1989. But the U.S. all-news service started in 1980 with just 300 employees and \$20 million. Said Vincent Mirone, a journalism professor at Queens University, Kingston, who lived in Washington during CNN's early years: "Back then, CNN used a lot of other people's footage, caused controversies, very little on-site material, and it presented a lot—just take the criticism of *Newsweek* today and you've got CNN in 1980."

Newsweek, however, has had to deal with some unique challenges. In order to concentrate the concentration of media in Central Canada, the CRTC required it to produce material at centres across the country. On weekdays, the centre begins with six hours of programming from Halifax, moves to various parts of the country in the afternoon and then goes to Calgary for six hours of evening programming, co-anchored by veteran newsmen. What Fraser Shown originates from other parts of the country throughout the day, and reports of programs from *Newsweek* and the CBC are overnight. Behind programming is a mix of original programs and repeats.

Canadian news stories increasingly rely on *Newsweek* for exposure. During the last desperate round of talks to save the Blackbox Life Deal in June, *Newsweek*'s coverage gained widespread praise largely because the major news organizations, which *Newsweek* was directed to largely report for the all-news service, had unravelled access to provincial premises.

As it enters its second year, *Newsweek* is focusing on programming improvements. In particular, Davidson said that she also wants to increase the depth of the service's coverage. She added: "One of the problems of doing news around stories has had to take a secondary position in our first year."

In 1991, the new service will face another hurdle: the CRTC will lead hearings to determine whether *Newsweek* and the other specialty services were carried on basic cable will be allowed to maintain their. But Steve McGowan, director of news and current affairs for CRTC, said that the service will come under the hearings in a position of strength. Declared McGowan: "I think *Newsweek* has proven that it has earned the right to be a basic cable service." In a new-hour age, the channel's news coverage carried out a job for itself in the world of TV.

PAMELA WONG and VICTOR DYKER in Toronto

FILMS

Bland and blue

Spike Lee hits a flat note in a jazz movie

MY BETTER LIVES
Directed by Spike Lee

Since directing his first feature film only four years ago, Spike Lee has swiftly built a reputation as one of America's most gifted and courageous filmmakers. In his first movie, *She's Gotta Move* (1986), Lee presented a modern take of racial identity with his sympathetic portrait of a young black woman who unapologetically slopes with three different men in turn. In *Saved* (1988), the director used a story about identity in an all-black college as a backdrop for examining the controversial issue of whether blacks discriminate against themselves based on the standards of their class. And some critics interpreted *Do the Right Thing* (1989), an unsettling tale of racial strife in Brooklyn, as an indictment on race relations as far as for social change. Yet, with his latest movie, he has avoided such politically charged rhetoric in *Mo'Nique Blues*, for which he also wrote the screenplay. Lee focuses instead on the personal and professional crises of one individual. The result is a dramatic disappointment—and a movie that lacks the intensity and force of Lee's earlier films.

Set in a rough neighbourhood composed by the director's father, Isaac Bell Lee, the story opens in a middle-class black neighbourhood in Brooklyn in 1968. Drifting from the second-story window of a brownstone apartment building are the raucous strains of a young boy practicing his trumpet to his father, Benji Gilman (Robert L. Howard). Benji gives his instrument to play with his mother (Robby London) so he can go outside and play. But the refusal, and despite his exaggerated joking, it is clear that the little boy loves the instrument that a fully half his age—and that one day he's practicing will pay off. In time, Gilman grows up to become a band leader (played by Donal Washington), and the story quickly passes to the present. In the smoky, airy world of Benji's Lido-

dog, an upscale Brooklyn jazz club, his band, The Black Quartet, is a hot act.

But while Gilman's performing, he clearly nurtured over the years, his approach to personal relationships has remained only child-like. His manager, James Smith in Gust, and played by Lee, is genuine, very much of the band's rough edges. When Gilman's new group, Shadow Ensemble (Whitney Brown), attempts to convince the band leader to find a

in the series with Gilman's lower, at least, the film creatively conceals the music's overwhelming passion for his art. One revealing scene begins with his attempting to inspire a bare white Benetton-style to suggest his in conversation. The chords that Gilman hears playing in his head build into a crescendo of ecstatic jazz that ultimately drowns out his plea for attention. In another scene, the two men arrive each other at Benji's Lido, wearing identical light-red dresses given to them by the disaffected band leader.

Washington, who won an Academy Award as best supporting actor for his portrayal of a Civil War soldier in the 1989 movie *Gloria*, seems anxious of how to handle the demanding role of Gilman. Frantic in his depiction of the musician's single-minded determination, he is too intent at evading the danger that Gilman is forced to confront as personal and professional careers collide. And Lee, whose close timing and excellent manner brought a touch of charm to his earlier roles in his own films, never fully masters the role of the eager Gust. Frustrated and shy, his glib performance fails to convey any sense of the desperation that drives a composer's gambler to betray his friends.

Cast as fails to Gilman's brooding tone, Williams and Joe Lee almost escape the movie's more dramatically limited male characters. In her first feature film, Williams shows in the beginning Benji, a second-story clerk who refuses to allow her love for Gilman to stand in the way of her dream of becoming a professional singer. And Lee lights up the screen with her story portrayal of the devoted Benji. Despite his low, but magnetic about the prospects of convincing Gilman to settle down, she succeeds at bringing a genuine touch of lightness to her overbearing goals that provides the movie.

But these accessible performances cannot compensate for the movie's slothfully defined characters—or for a script that fails to deliver a convincing portrait of its subject matter. Although its depiction of the often-sordid world of black jazz is at times engaging, *Mo'Nique Blues* delivers only the faintest hint of a picture that seems to lie below the movie's surface. As a result, the film also fails to evoke any heartfelt sense of the personal anguish that can accompany an artist's unwavering dedication to his craft. Stepping his focus from the political issue to a more personal one, Spike Lee has produced his first movie that is neither very provocative nor particularly entertaining.

VICTOR DYKER



Williams (left), Washington, Spike Lee, Joe Lee: devoted to music

Al in the family

A magnate's son also rises in an IBM book

RITCHER, SON AND CO.,
MY LIFE AT IBM AND BEYOND
By Thomas J. Watson Jr. and Peter Petre
(Shawnee, 468 pages, \$27.95)

FOR some, the only border heavier to bear than a father's was as an heir. Father is one who is an other. Thomas Watson Jr., the first head of the international business-machine and computer column IBM, that the son was able to take over without being overshadowed by the old entrepreneur's black is testimony to an individualistic, combative spirit that no father could risk. In fact, says Watson Jr. because that executive officer of the *American*, N.Y.-based company in 1956, he fully committed IBM to expanding into computer technology while modernizing its corporate culture. With Peter Petre, an editor at *Fortune* magazine, Watson has produced an engaging autobiography that is less self-serving than the trumpet-sounding portraits of American businessmen that usually appear in bookstores.

As Watson describes it, under the demanding hand of his intellectual father, not was a home-schooled paragon whose corporate offspring amounted to the tone of his life in "Make things happen," "Beast your best" and, above all, "THINK." Born in 1913 as the Computing Tabulating-Recording Co., a small conglomerate of business-machine manufacturers, the company came under the leadership of Watson Sr. in 1914. The former newspaper-chain salesman and his board retained it International Business Machines—IBM, as it came to be known—30 years later.

Although manufacturing success in paper, ink's great success in the early years was based on tabulating machines. What Watson Sr. did not avoid the patchwork technology that interested an accounting and record keeping, he refined it and sold computers on its vast commercial potential. But did incorporate the computer. But as the 1940s ended, the company concluded that computers were the way of the future.

Watson Sr. became one of the leading U.S.

entrepreneurs of the first half of the century, earning \$1,000 a day by the 1930s and, at one time, boarding the longest duty in *Who's Who in America*. Watson Jr., however, initially seemed destined to fall far short of his father's accomplishments. As a child growing up in the village of Short Hills, just outside New York



Watson Jr.: stepping out of an intimidating shadow

City, he was the mediocre "terrible Tommy Watson" because he was continually getting into trouble. Watson writes that, after a difficult youth marked by recurring bouts of depression and a tumultuous emotional career at private school and—with his father's help—Brown University, he joined IBM in 1937. His first assignment was one with prestige: he was a salesman responsible for an important chunk

of Manhattan's financial district. Still, he recalls that, after three years, "All I could think about was a way out."

He found one in the Second World War, when he joined the air force as a pilot, later becoming a general's aide-de-camp. Like Watson Sr., Watson Jr. had the super-calculator's knack for cultivating important friendships, and his wartime experience gave him ample opportunity to do that. When he returned to IBM at the end of the war, his father began to groom him to run the show.

The story of that troubled succession is a coded account of classic father-son rivalry and internal competition with his younger brother, Richard. Watson admits that, after the retirement of his father, who seeks to be succeeded but as head of the company, the prospect of failure made him "the most frightened man in America." But between 1956 and 1971, he put his own stamp on IBM, growing over a massive restructuring, introducing new technology and redesigning its look.

The author is somewhat restrained about his account of the company's battles to maintain market dominance in the face of U.S. federal antitrust suits and competitors such as Remington Rand and General Electric, now currently has about 380,000 employees in 132 countries, and its 1980 revenues were a staggering \$72 billion. It seems likely that the rise of the company to global hegemony excited more than a few Watson's language engines.

Watson also writes candidly of the stresses that his career had on his marriage and home life. A heart attack in 1970, when he was 56, was a turning point, he says. Soon after, he began the process of divorcing himself from the day-to-day running of the company, spending more time with his family and his hobbies—traveling, flying and sailing. Even so, after stepping down as IBM's chief executive officer in 1987, Watson—a Moral Democrat who had used his influence to speak out against McCarthyism and U.S. involvement in Vietnam—served as chairman of President Jimmy Carter's committee on arms control, and then as its ambassador in Moscow for 16 months in 1979 and 1981. After returning from the Soviet Union, he rejoined IBM's board, remaining on it until 1984, when he was 70.

Rather, Son and Co. organized too close to home to be an impartial history of its rise. It is, however, a highly readable primer on how to succeed in business with talent, guts and a little help from your friends. The appealing personality running through his autobiography is further proof that Watson inherited his father's great gift of self-awareness—the quality most responsible for his success. It was, arguably, for that of American capitalists abroad.

MORTON RITTS

Intimate snapshots

Sue Miller explores a family's private pain

FAMILY PICTURES

By Sue Miller
(HarperCollins, 389 pages, \$24.95)

There is a melancholy to Sue Miller's new novel, *Family Pictures*, that is at first almost a disappointment. Her previous best-seller, *The Good Mother*, was a fast and furious read, chronicling a divorced mother's custody battle for her small daughter with the urgency of a detective story. *Family Pictures*, on the other hand, seems dense and introverted, and as the beginning reader soon learns, it is a psychological case history than a novel. Deposing as the 1950s and spanning 60 years, it is the story of an American family with a male stranger (its reader)—as and who child.

The Elberbachs of Chicago live, if not a happy 1950s family, at least a typical one. The mother, Lacey, stays home with her children, who eventually number six. The father, David, obtains from work every night to the sound of his cello, looking at marital glazes as the couples in the Elberbachs' affluent neighborhood get together for cocktails and drinks.

But these things diminish the Elberbachs' family from the others around them. The primary difference is the arrival of Randall, the Elberbachs' third child and second son. He grows up a beautiful baby whose odd behavior goes unnoticed until he is nearly 10, when his father finally realizes that he is a "metastable, pyloric lump, frozen in the blur of life around him." The second major difference is the size of the brood, which even then, according to the narrator, Nina, the family's fourth child, seemed excessive, "a special case in some way." And then there is the father's profession: psychiatry. "How that psychiatry was bedeviled weekly in New York City in the 1950s, how it was difficult to recall what then meant, how seriously men like him were taken—he was sort of shaman in our world."

But the most skillful in recognizing and treat-

ing mental disorders is unable to deal with the psychological havoc that Randall's presence wreaks in his own family. David becomes deeply angry with his wife, accused of producing three more children after Randall in order to smother right the wrong of the autistic boy's birth. Lacey struggles with the contemporary notion that mothers are somehow to blame for autism in their offspring, and she



Miller: grappling with self-sacrifice and miracles

throws herself into self-sacrificing love and servitude to her few damaged son, while expecting her other children to assuage on their own.

David and Lacey separate, divorce and move apart again. Their children, meanwhile, not only all subject to typical adolescent misbehavior and rage, but also have to deal with their confused feelings about the brother who has been isolated, dressed and locked in his bedroom at night.

Miller tries to explore many people's truths in the novel, and the point of view switches from the adult Nina's first-person narration to

a third-person account of the lives of both parents and several of the children. Nina, now grown up and in the middle of her own dramatic quest, is a powerful, and she offers us a collection of verbal snapshots of the key events and characters in her family. But Miller does not always seem to trust the suggestive power of those images and, as a result, she provides too many explanations in the book. When David, faced of dealing with his son's many problems and her absorption with Randall, battles on the brink of his first affair, Miller writes, "David's youth had been made difficult by his father's chronic infidelities to his mother, and it was one of his deepest assumptions about himself that he would not repeat this pattern."

That kind of clinical writing slows down what is essentially an engrossing and powerful story. However, in the second half of the novel, the author's prose finally becomes fluid and compelling. The dialogue has an angry authenticity to it, as if Miller has finally gotten to the heart of darkness that can be found in many families.

While watching a family photograph, Nina remembers that each child born to her family "represented such risk, such pain during so its parents' parts—that such possibility for anguish and pain—that each child's moment was a kind of miracle." *Family Pictures* grapples with the miracle and the anguish of producing and raising children, and the urgency of it all some children cannot help but present their families with more pain than pleasure.

JULIETTE TIMMONS

Maclean's

BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *The Barbed Wire*, *Time* (1)
- 2 *Found in My Youth*, *Mean* (2)
- 3 *Shirley*, *Forster*
- 4 *Get Shorty*, *Levin*
- 5 *Mannequin from Heaven*, *Shel* (7)
- 6 *Supersoldier*, *Pickler* (5)
- 7 *An Inconvenient Woman*, *Donner* (6)
- 8 *Coyote Moon*, *Hillerman* (3)
- 9 *Wildlife*, *Ford* (3)
- 10 *Sea of Islands*, *Morre*

NONFICTION

- 1 *Memories*, *1900*
- 2 *Harsh and Altruistic*, *1*
- 3 *Men of War*, *Witt* (5)
- 4 *Substance of the Gods*, *Bernheim and Meyer*
- 5 *I Am Right, You Are Wrong*, *De Bore*
- 6 *Remembering*, *Shirley* (3)
- 7 *Shirley*, *Forster* (6)
- 8 *Rather, Son & Co.*, *Watson* (2)
- 9 *The Sun at Our Gates*, *Conner* (4)
- 10 *The Trouble with Canada*, *Conner*

10 *Towards a Just Society*, *edited by*

Amerity and Trevelin (10)

11 *From just south*

Compiled by Bruce DeBore



The world unfolding by a divine plan

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

Possibly Greece is probably the most vulgar spot, at the moment, in the world. The stretch of cheap faux moses with the odor of hot mustard hamburgers, and pizza that Napoli would avert recognition—slipping the sillicatory openings of the theater crowd emerging on Shattuck Avenue. The strips of the pork-beacon and backpack set, extremely indolent daisies, lounge on the sidewalk and festoon the steps leading up to the famous Statue of Zeus at the center of this mess.

London is equally filthy, in color, is more assiduously crowded than ever. The Mother Country has adopted, from its two colonies across the Atlantic, that famous overseas port—the two-finger salute at intersections. The most fetid newspapers at entrance profferers in wild popularity allocate fellow journalists that read as if they were pained by grotesques of exiles' progress in *Reverdy*.

In all, we're saying, Britain seems a disaster at first glance. Maggie Thatcher, *Attia* the Her, has been so draconian in her slaying of speaking in the public square that the selfish (or the masochist) are tired and torn, the hospital a disgrace, the transportation system still a Delianian snail and the beaches, in everywhere, failed.

In fact, all true, and one ventures into the countryside. England, at its genesis, has contrived to construct the ugliest cities in Christendom and the most beautiful countryside ever invented. London, aside the central core so beloved by tourists—not to mention Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool and the seminar sections of Newcastle, Leeds and Bradford—is a horror to the soul without ever bringing into play the circle bells.

One angles out of London to the southeast, rapidly on the way to Vera Lynn's white cliffs of Dover. Canterbury is off to the left. In Kent, outside the little village of Wrothwell, are Jeff and Joana. Their huge old house was built in 1440. They would make it before Columbus set out. (Just Misch Lake into proper perspective.) You can walk into the fireplace. On a picnic over lunch, one gazes across the fence at the



along scattered in the pasture, a scene out of a postcard.

A neighbor on a side board takes for granted the huge bowl that contains "a growing thicket" slowly building and fermenting away for years as new fuel is added. At the Wrothwell, the pub in Wrothwell, they still remember the harsh journalist who spent the two years back by visiting building restrictions through erecting ugly stone balls on his front wall. No one can recall what happened to him.

Driving west, through Tottenham, Biddenden, Hildesheim, Bessenden, Newmarket and Dingleton, we come into Staines. There are Beth and Martin. They live on the delightfully named Murrin's Lane. The pitchers of Peter's, the most civilized drink on the globe, sweet. There is a wailing wall and a pond full of frogs.

Martin flies off to Thailand on deals and has never heard of Donald Trump. Beth has her magnificent 17-year-old horse and is into dress-

sage in his field, sheep cluster at his feet. Overhead in a tree that stretches forever is a fort for the eight-year-old. The English summer goes on endlessly. The English cricket captain, the aptly named Graham Gooch, hits 333 against India at Lords.

Continuing west through Hampshire (where burricomes hardly happen), through Hinton Ampner, Netley, Valence, Bartley Mansell and Stiles Chantry. On into lovely Withshire, below the Salisbury Plain. At the Cross Keys pub, just outside Gillingham-Chamberlayne, a ceremonial place from British Columbia hangs on the wall. At the Manor House Farm are Andrew and Ed. Peter's is in the garden (the south the tree house).

Andrew was an anti-submarine helicopter pilot in the British navy. He now runs the 1,800-acre Gillingham farm, leeching through the downs in his Land Rover, breaking outposts and leaving a rifle

on the side-view mirror to shoot one of the rabbits that are such a nuisance to the crops. He drives the small boys to train lessons. All English boy-children are named either Simon, Peter, Andrew, Matthew or Oliver.

Along with the cows and the sheep and the geese, Andrew's job is to protect the pheasants that he and his father love to shoot in the village, where his farm workers are provided with low-cost housing. Gail Beaton lived until his recent death. At Lonsdale's, a stately home, the wine list puts California, Australia and New Zealand wine in a category titled "New World."

Just behind the dairy barn, Andrew has an aphid, 500-year-old glass resting for his four-wheeler plane. On a hillside are anti-aircraft, knee-cornmeal segment remnants of First World War lounge situated here. It is in these Withshire grandfields that the mysterious circles are found, caused by either flying saucers, fungal infections, giant lichenous, rotating steps or mass movements of bedbugs. Mass movements of bedbugs university students are a better bet.

The bluish meadows of the English country is best seen from a leisurely light place. There is nothing wasted, the geometric patterns of the multicolored crops with harvest apparatus broken by the green crops and neat bedoms and guarded-by-line patches of dark forest.

We swirl around the spine of Salisbury Cathedral, glide over stone castles with their sculpted gardens. It is clear, from Andrew's place, that God indeed laid a plan, that as architects laid it all this out with a painter's palette. It's almost enough to believe that there is an order in things. All's right with the world when you see above Withshire—as opposed to Piccadilly.



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